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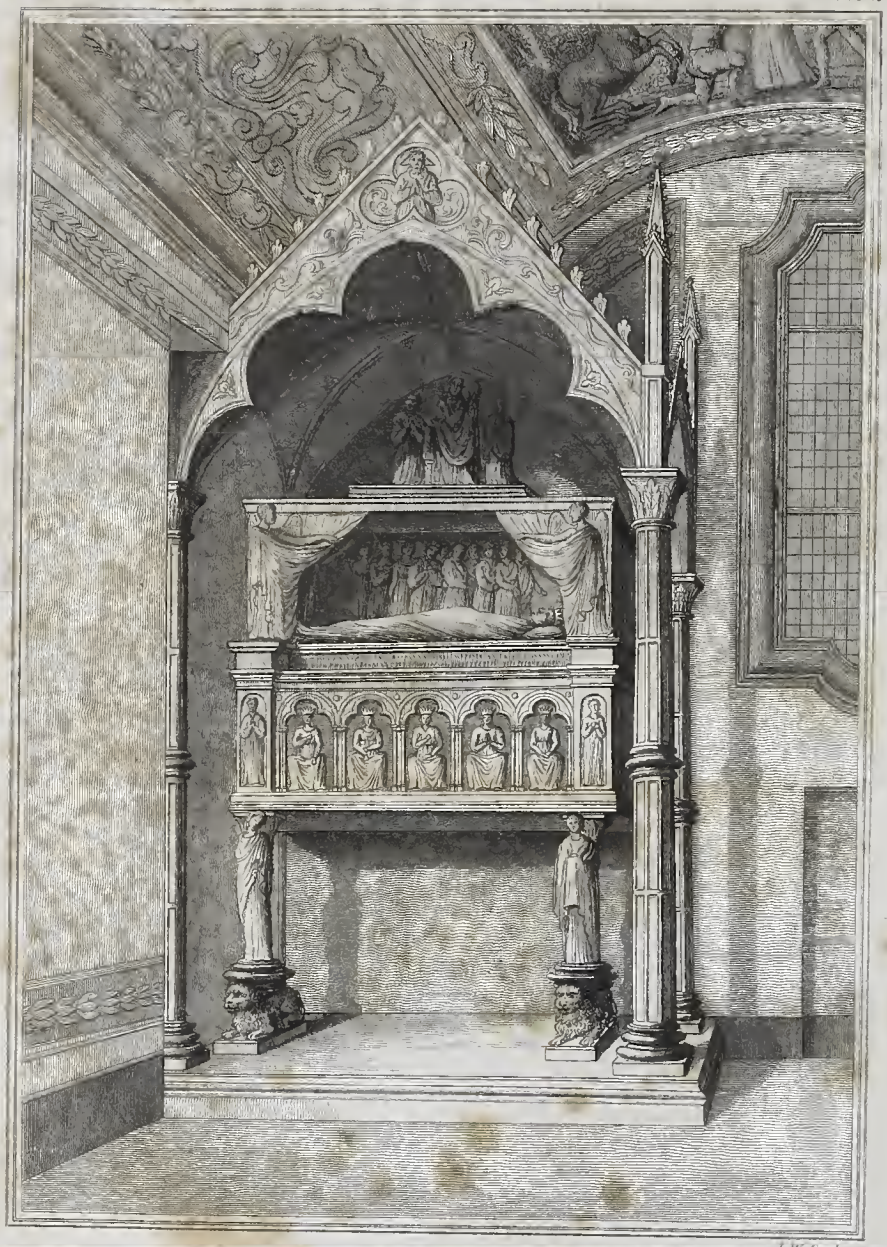

I W Cook sc

THE TOMB OF JOANNA

in the Church of St. Clair at Naples

Published by Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, London, March, 1824

HISTORICAL LIFE

OF

JOANNA OF SICILY,

QUEEN OF NAPLES

AND

COUNTESS OF PROVENCE;

WITH

CORRELATIVE DETAILS OF

THE LITERATURE AND MANNERS

OF

ITALY AND PROVENCE

IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

"Les infortunes et la mort de cette Reine entre dans tous les évènemens de ce temps là, et surtout dans le grand schisme d'Occident que nous aurons bientôt sous les yeux."

VOLTAIRE—*Essai sur les Mœurs et L'Esprit des Nations.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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JOANNA,

QUEEN OF NAPLES.

CHAP. I.

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THE first expedition undertaken by Louis of Taranto and the young knights who followed his banner, was against the count of Apici, one of the most obstinate adherents of the king of Hungary. This powerful baron was soon reduced to obedience, and with the fine imposed as the forfeit of his rebellion, Louis bought off the German captain, commonly called duke Warner, who had hitherto served with Conrad Wolf, the king of Hungary's lieutenant, and commanded a troop of three thousand horse, and a large body of foot.

During the middle ages, Europe was desolated by bands of mercenaries, composed principally of outlaws from its various states, and men of desperate fortunes, serving under leaders distinguished for courage and activity. These bands existed in such numbers, that any prince rich enough to satisfy their cupidity, might encroach with impunity on the dominions of his neighbours; and by their agency, the minor states of Europe changed their rulers with the facility and suddenness of modern revolutions. Pillage their object, and murder their means, rapine, fire, and sword, marked their progress, their avarice sparing neither age nor sex.

The impious audacity of these lawless ruffians may be imagined from the legend worked in silver letters on the surcoat of this same duke Warner, which ran thus—"I AM DUKE WARNER, THE CHIEF OF THE GREAT COMPANY, THE ENEMY OF GOD, OF PITY, AND OF MERCY." What must have been the impotence of law and public opinion, when this blasphemy could be paraded with impunity through christian Europe from the Rhine to the Sebeto; and when two sovereigns were alternately disgraced by the services of a wretch as faithless as he was cruel!

After the defection of Warner from the Hungarian party, a continuation of petty successes attended the arms of Louis; and Conrad Wolf, seeing his power daily decreasing, from the loss

of garrisoned towns and castles, and supplies both of provisions and money failing, he endeavoured to provoke the prince to a general engagement.

Louis, in consequence of the advice of Warner, prudently declined the encounter, unwilling to risk the fate of the kingdom on the hazard of a day, and doubtful of the part his new ally might take if his counsel were disregarded. Conrad, hoping to provoke the haughty spirit of the Neapolitan Nobles, in the camp of Louis, to the rash encounter, in defiance of his prohibition, passed his whole army close to their trenches, and his soldiers, by his orders, called on the barons individually to redeem the battle-gage they had accepted during the absence of the prince at Barletta, taunting and insulting them with opprobrious language; but such was the influence of Louis, that none of his followers accepted the challenge.

Finding his expectations frustrated in this quarter, Conrad bent his course to Foggia, an ill-fortified and rich town. The citizens, unwilling to hazard their lives and fortunes, yielded up the place on conditions which were immediately violated by the faithless and barbarous German, who gave the town to be pillaged and sacked by his needy followers. "Men in general," says Costanzo, "judge of the propriety of actions by the exigencies of their own interest;" and a very general censure was passed on Louis for not having succoured Foggia, though impracticable

at that juncture; and a crowd of French adventurers flocked to the standard of Conrad, attracted by the report of the rich booty gained in the pillage of that unfortunate town.

Louis without delay made a movement to protect the fertile lands of Terra de Bari, but equally avoided a general engagement, the sole object of Conrad. The Hungarian general, disappointed in his hopes, moved on towards Naples, and sent emissaries to Warner to induce him to change sides again, representing that it was better to make present profit by the pillage of the kingdom of Naples, than to await the tardy payments of its sovereign. In pursuance of this advice, Warner encamped without sentinels, and suffered himself to be surrounded by Conrad's forces, and then, with matchless effrontery, required Louis to pay the Hungarians thirty thousand florins for the ransom of his company, threatening to join their party, as before, if this demand were unsatisfied. The treason was so slightly coloured, that Louis treated the application with the contempt it merited; and Warner, without any sense of shame, joined Conrad in the rich Terra di Lavoro, where their united forces were still further strengthened by the arrival of a strong body of troops from Hungary, and a company of mercenaries, under the command of the count of Lando.

The Neapolitan nobles, hopeless of mercy from

the Hungarians, assembled in large numbers in the capital, with all the forces they could raise. The count of Minervino alone (who had originally invited the invaders) paid and fed three hundred men at arms, and a large body of foot soldiers. The peasants also, burning with the desire to be revenged on their cruel spoilers, assembled in multitudes in the neighbourhood of Naples, arming themselves with those implements of husbandry for the defence of their fields, which they could no longer use in their cultivation. But this unusual concourse of people proved essentially injurious to the cause it was intended to support. Conrad intercepted the supplies of provisions from the Terra di Lavoro, and the overthronged city of Naples was obliged to depend on precarious supplies by sea from Calabria and other districts attached to the queen. The majority of all ranks becoming impatient of privation and restraint, refused to await the slow but certain effect of the wise conduct Louis had adopted, which had already put him in possession of the whole kingdom, except the Terra di Lavoro in the vicinity of the capital, and in defiance of his entreaties and the orders of the queen's council, elected four distinguished leaders, and encamped at Secondigliano, within two miles of Naples, with the intention of giving battle to the army of Conrad, which much exceeded the Neapolitan force in numbers.

Conrad rejoiced to find that the design which had drawn him to the capital had succeeded at the very moment his troops were about to disperse for want of payment, placed the count of Lando in ambush, and separating the German and Hungarian troops under his command, commenced a feigned combat, which was immediately reported to the Neapolitan nobles by some of the neighbouring peasants. They blindly fell into the snare, were surrounded on all sides, and killed in great numbers.

The mercenaries in the service of Hungary had been so ill paid, that they were even after this victory about to disperse, when Stephen, Vaivode of Transylvania, delivered all the captives which had been made, into their hands as payment. To extort a larger ransom, they inflicted the most horrible tortures on their prisoners, many of whom died in their hands. Though large sums were paid by the surviving sufferers, they too proved insufficient to satisfy their cupidity, and the mercenaries, therefore, determined to seize on the Vaivode himself, and treat him in the same manner; but having timely notice of their intentions, he made his escape by night, with his principal officers.

Cardinal Ceccano, the papal legate, seized this opportunity of negotiating with the leaders of the Germans, many of whom were personally known to him from having been employed in the

service of the church. As they suffered much from the want of provisions, he easily prevailed on them to leave the kingdom, and seek their own homes for the security of the riches they had already made. On payment of a hundred and twenty thousand florins, they delivered up the important towns of Capua and Aversa, which were strongly fortified by Louis of Taranto, and the following year the ultimate failure of the king of Hungary was caused by the losses he sustained in conducting the siege of the latter.

On the retreat of the Germans, Conrad Wolf and Frà Moriale, an Hungarian knight of Jerusalem, formerly in the service of the unfortunate duke of Durazzo, retired to Apulia, and sent information of the defection of the Germans to the king of Hungary, who soon after entered that province at the head of ten thousand horse and a large body of foot soldiers.

According to Gravina, Louis of Taranto immediately sent his antagonist a proposition to decide the contest between them by single combat, to be fought either at Naples, Perugia, Avignon, or Paris, alleging that " whilst he valued the repose of the kingdom, and the lives of his barons and knights, Louis of Hungary cared no more for those of *the heathens* he brought in his train, than if they had been so many dogs." The Hungarian monarch expressed himself willing to accept the challenge, but objected to the places named as

too friendly to his rival, but proposed fighting the duel in presence of the bishop of Aquilea, or of the emperor of Germany, their common liege lord, or the king of England, their mutual friend, or in presence of their armies." However, for some unknown reason, the duel was not carried into effect, and Louis of Hungary proceeded to lay siege to Canoza.[1] The Hungarians were obstinately resisted at Canoza, and in leading a general assault, the king was so desperately wounded, that falling down apparently dead before the walls, he was with difficulty carried back to his own camp, his safety being purchased only by the loss of his most valiant soldiers. On this repulse, he retired to Principato, where the town of Salerno, divided by civil dissentions, easily fell a prey to his arms, and the citadel of Lucera was delivered up to him without resistance by the treachery or cowardice of the governor. He then proceeded

[1] This duel having been proposed is agreeable to the spirit of the age, and the reasons assigned by Louis of Taranto are probably characteristic of the two princes, and of the detestation felt by the Neapolitans for the followers of the king of Hungary; but the letters themselves (or at least that of Louis of Hungary) are evidently of Gravina's own composition. Louis of Hungary denounced his rival as a traitor and rebel, and yet Gravina makes him address him in this letter "*Great King*," the prince of Taranto did not assume the title of King in his joint edicts with Joanna till after his coronation, which he could have no pretension to but in her right, a right denied at the sword's point by the king of Hungary at the period in question.

to Aversa, expecting to find it unprepared for resistance, as he had dismantled it on his first invasion. Louis of Taranto had, however, so strongly fortified it since he had recovered it from the German captains, and it was so valiantly defended by Giacomo Pignatello, the governor, that despairing of gaining the place by force of arms, the king resolved to reduce it by famine, more especially as he had received so severe a wound from an arrow in the foot, that his life was in considerable danger.

The siege of Aversa occupied three months; and when at last Pignatello capitulated on honourable conditions, the besiegers were so much affected by the heat of the climate and their own intemperance, that one half of them died, and almost all the survivors suffered under sickness.

As the road was now open to the capital, Louis of Taranto and Joanna, accompanied by their household and their most attached friends, went by sea to Gaeta, in order to establish the seat of government at that town, that in case of any extraordinary emergency, they might, at the last extremity, save themselves by retiring to Provence. Ten Provençal galleys were already at Gaeta, and Rinaldo de Baux, high admiral of the kingdom, was ordered to bring eight more from the port of Naples. Under pretence of victualling these, he lingered in the harbour till he had concluded a bargain with the king of Hungary to

deliver into his hands Joanna and Louis, and their daughter, the princess Frances, with the duchess of Durazzo and her children, on their passage to Provence, on condition of having the eldest daughter of Maria, the heiress of the principality of Durazzo, and of rich possessions in the kingdom of Naples, delivered up to him as the future bride of his son.

A secret intimation of this intended treason was conveyed to the queen, and when the high admiral appeared before Gaeta, she sent him an order to repair to the palace without delay; but, on various frivolous pretences, he not only refused to obey this summons, but even declined entering the harbour. For several days he continued to equivocate and refuse compliance to every order sent. As the naval force he commanded would have prevented the passage of the royal family to Provence, if any exigency should arise to require it, Louis of Taranto took one of those desperate resolutions which, in situations of danger, can alone command security. When Rinaldo was wholly unsuspicious of his intentions, he embarked on board a small skiff, with three or four faithful and valiant companions, and attacking the admiral in his ship, killed him with his own hand.

In the mean time the king of Hungary entered Naples, and summoned the representatives of the nobility and citizens to appear before him at Castel Novo. Here he sternly rebuked them for

the affection they had shown to Joanna, and the great exertions they had made in her cause; but professing his desire to favour them beyond their merits, offered to save the town from pillage, on condition of their paying a heavy contribution to satisfy the soldiery, to whom the plunder of the city had been promised.

When this proposition was delivered to the various *seggi* or *piazze*,[2] the populace rose tumultuously, and taking up arms vowed to die, rather than submit to pay any contribution. The Hungarian army was encamped where now stands the church of the *Incoronata*, built by Joanna. Their emaciated forms, and the meagre condition of their horses, which could scarcely carry their saddles, excited the contempt of the exasperated Neapolitans, who collected from all quarters of the town to attack them in a body, should they attempt any measures of violence.[3] The king of Hungary, seeing the disposition of the people, thought it most prudent to drop the matter of the contribution, and to retire with his enfeebled army as speedily as he could to Apulia, to effect a junction with Conrad Wolf.

From this retreat Clement VI rightly augured that it would not be a difficult matter to conclude

[2] Naples was divided into twelve *seggi* or *piazze*, five for the nobility and seven for the people, each having its own governor or chief magistrate.

[3] Costanzo.

a peace, as one party was as much exhausted as the other. Louis of Hungary, convinced of his inability to effect the conquest of Naples, readily agreed to a truce for one year, referring the matter to the ultimate decision of the Sacred College; but, to save appearances, insisted on a new trial of Joanna, binding himself, if she were declared innocent, to give up the kingdom of Naples to her, whilst she, on her part, agreed to resign it if she were pronounced guilty.[4]

"The sentence of the Sacred College, as every intelligent man foresaw," says Muratori, "was in favour of Joanna."[5] But the treaty which

[4] There is a story in common circulation, that on this second trial Joanna, to end the perplexity of the Sacred College, agreed to confess that her affections had been alienated from Andrew by magic potions, and that her friends, in consequence of the aversion thus produced, had, thinking to do her a service, put him to death without her consent or knowledge. In her circumstances, such a confession was wholly unnecessary, as her interest and that of the papal court were one: and as it is unnoticed by the great historians who detail the other particulars of the treaty, it is without scruple rejected in the text, after the example of Muratori, Giannone, Costanzo, Bouche, and Voltaire. The silence of the latter is particularly convincing; the express object of his history was, to paint the manners and give the spirit of each succeeding age; in this point of view, had there been any sufficient foundation for the story in question, it would have been a *ben trovato* too fortunate to have been omitted, the more especially as he speaks with eulogium of the conduct of Louis of Hungary in refusing to accept a price for the renunciation of his claims.

[5] Annali d'Italia.

was first concluded between the Pope and the Hungarian ambassadors was such as she refused to ratify,[6] as it stipulated that Louis of Taranto was not to bear the title of king; and that, in failure of Joanna, her rights were to devolve on the king of Hungary, to the exclusion of her sister Maria.

Joanna would not consent that her husband should be excluded from that throne which his valour and ability had conquered for her, nor to compromise the rights of her sister, nor expose the people who had so zealously supported her to the chance of the domination of a prince they detested. She made such strong remonstrances to the Pope, and showed such a firm resolution never to yield, but on her own terms, that at last a treaty was concluded, establishing the testament of king Robert in all its points, and giving to Louis of Taranto the title of king, as her consort, on the same conditions on which she had been willing to grant it to the unfortunate Andrew.

The king of Hungary beginning to be embroiled with the Venetians, found so much employment nearer home, that he consented to resign the crown of Naples for ever; and, with the proud spirit that marked his race, he refused to accept three hundred thousand florins which Clement had stipulated that Joanna should pay him

[6] Bouche, Hist. Provence.

on delivering up the fortresses he held at Naples, saying he had not been induced to invade the kingdom either by ambition or avarice, but solely to avenge the death of his brother; and having gained every becoming satisfaction on that point, he sought nothing further. "For this conduct," says Costanzo, "he was much thanked and praised by the Pope and Sacred College." Money could not repay a mind like that of Louis of Hungary for the disappointment of his ambitious hopes, and he consulted his own dignity by professing to have attained the object he sought. He could not, however, have given a stronger admission of the innocence of Joanna and Louis of Taranto; for if either, or both, had been implicated in the death of Andrew, and were permitted to enjoy the fruit of that crime, he had not then received any satisfaction.

By this treaty the princes of the blood who had been confined for four years in the castle of Visgrade, were set free. Their confinement had been the most fortunate circumstance for the interest of Joanna that could have occurred; had they been at liberty, their quarrels, ambition, and arrogance, would have so divided the kingdom, and thwarted her measures, that, as in the first instance, no effectual resistance could have been opposed to the Hungarians. The king of Hungary, in killing her chief enemy, the duke of Durazzo, and putting the rest of her turbulent

relatives in chains, in fact restored her to her throne. And had he made the confinement of the latter perpetual, he would effectually have promoted her interest, and secured the peace of the kingdom of Naples.

Conrad Wolf still lingered in Sicily after the retreat of the Hungarians, and hoisting the imperial banner, established himself in Lucera, which he had held for the king of Hungary; however, on payment of certain sums he alleged to be due to him from that monarch, he gave up that town and agreed to leave the kingdom.

Frà Moriale, in imitation of his example, fortified himself in Aversa, where he had collected all the riches he had acquired in the kingdom; but, less fortunate than Conrad, was obliged to capitulate and resign all his ill-gotten wealth, except the small sum of one thousand florins, granted on condition of conducting his company out of the kingdom without further pillage.

As soon as the treaty of peace was signed, Joanna sent an embassy to Clement VI to express her gratitude for his great exertions in her favour, and to entreat him to grant a bull for her own coronation (which had never yet been performed) and that of Louis. The Pope acceded to this request, and sent the bishop of Bracarenza to Naples to perform the ceremony on the 25th of May, or feast of Pentecost.

The kingdom, so long afflicted by an accumu-

lation of evils, began now to respire, and heart-felt joy pervaded all ranks, who assembled in multitudes in the capital, to partake in a festival that was to bury in oblivion all their past sufferings.

A German captain, called Beltram della Motta, hoping to profit by the plunder of the concourse of noble travellers to Naples, assembled a thousand horse in the neighbourhood of Aversa; and, waylaying the barons and their wives, robbed them of the splendid habits they had prepared for the occasion, and of all the treasure they brought with them. But Louis, who had just returned from some of the distant provinces to Naples, went out against this band of depredators at the head of five hundred knights, and so completely discomfited them, that Beltram and twenty of his men alone escaped, to follow similar courses in some other country, all the stragglers that escaped the swords of the royal band being slain by the peasantry.

As the road was now unimpeded, crowds of all ranks flocked to the capital to attend the coronation, which was performed on the appointed day with the utmost pomp. The populace were entertained with pageants and military jousts and games for many days, and all the nobility and respectable citizens partook of public banquets, as they came in bodies to swear allegiance to Louis and Joanna.

Perfect joy is not the lot of human nature. The most splendid day of Joanna's life was, in its conclusion, one of the most unhappy, and, in its consequences, one of the most unfortunate; for all its pomps and vanities were saddened by the death of her only child, a princess nearly four years old, whose place was never supplied by any future offspring.

An accident which occurred during her progress round the city with Louis after their coronation, was supposed to have foreboded this fatal event. On entering the gate of Petruccia, near the spot where now stands the Hospital of St. John and the church of St. George, some ladies, in token of rejoicing, threw down flowers from their balcony, which so startled the horse the king rode, that rearing upright, it broke the reins in the hands of the nobles who held it. Louis, aware of his danger, threw himself off the back of the terrified animal; but in doing so, his crown fell from his head on the ground, and was broken in three pieces. The melancholy forebodings and superstitious fears of his attendants and the surrounding spectators were vehemently expressed; but, laughing at their prognostics, Louis ordered another horse, and fastening the divided crown together again as well as he could, and setting it on his head, finished his progress round the walls, and returned late in the evening with Joanna to Castel Novo; and here, indeed, they found the

most precious jewel of their crown laid low in the dust!

Whilst her parents, surrounded by the pomp of royalty, which so often conceals an aching heart from the view of the dazzled multitude, were receiving the cheerful homage of their rejoicing subjects, the young princess expired in the, that day, deserted and silent halls of Castel Novo. Her death was probably occasioned by some of the disorders incident to childhood, so sudden in their effects in southern climates. No previous debility of constitution had prepared the fond mother for this fatal stroke, who looked forward, at no distant period, to the celebration of her infant nuptials; for, young as this princess was, a treaty had already been signed for her marriage with the heir of the kingdom of Arragon. The happier destiny of an early grave snatched her from what, in this age of violence, must have proved a life of continual struggle, to have been concluded at last, perhaps, by a cruel death. But the same stroke which laid her in infant innocence in the peaceful tomb, condemned her mother to fall by the hand of the ungrateful assassin she adopted to fill the throne in her place.

A few months after peace had been finally concluded with Hungary, Joanna lost her enlightened guardian and friend, Clement VI, who, fortunately for her, had obtained the pontificate immediately before her accession, and lived long enough

to conduct her in safety to the throne, through all the violence of the political storms that assailed her, to reign, not in name only, but in fact.

Whatever judgment may be passed on the character of Clement VI as a spiritual pastor, he was undoubtedly a wise and beneficent prince in his temporal capacity. The Abbé de Sade observes, that the Italian historians, indignant at his residence at Avignon, have not done justice to his merits, and that their sentiments have been servilely copied by the ecclesiastical writers of France. "Matthew Villani speaks only of his faults, and with difficulty allows that he was *of competent learning*,[7] though he was one of the most profound scholars of the age, both in literature and theology. He harshly reproaches him with his taste for the society of women, who at all times had free access to his palace, and attended him in his illnesses; with his attachment for the viscountess of Turenne, the channel of favour; and with his affection for his relations, whom he loaded with wealth and honours, though, in general, little worthy of such distinctions.

"Let us, however," continues de Sade, "with whom his residence at Avignon is no crime, speak of him without bitterness and without prejudice. It must be allowed that he was one of the greatest men who ever filled the chair of St. Peter. Such

[7] Fu di convenevole scienzia, e molto cavallaresco, e poco religioso.—*M. Villani*, lib. iii. cap. 43.

is the idea we must form of him from the writings of contemporary authors, and the success of his pontificate. If he had some faults they were atoned by great virtues and amiable qualities. Without doubt, it would not be becoming in a pope to imitate his chivalric style of living, or to allow himself to be attended like him by women, but it were much to be wished that all princes would follow him as their model in the government of their states.

"What more brilliant or glorious than the ten years of his pontificate! He accomplished a great undertaking, in which his predecessors had failed; deposed Louis of Bavaria, and elected Charles of Luxemburg to the Imperial crown in his stead. He permitted the latter to be crowned at Rome on condition of leaving it immediately, and was obeyed. He had the pleasure of seeing at his feet a beautiful queen, accused of a great crime, pleading her cause herself;—the ambassadors of the tyrant of Italy demanding pardon on their knees for their master;—the famous tribune of Rome in chains, for having dared to raise the standard against him. He ordered Casimir, king of Poland, to send away his mistresses, and to be faithful to his wife. This prince refused in the first instance, but in the end submitted to the penance imposed on him.

"The most generous of men, he had the pleasure of bestowing crowns: he gave away more bene-

fices than any of his predecessors. Nothing cost him so much as a refusal, and when he could not grant exactly what was asked, his ingenuity supplied him with some expedient to content those he was obliged to refuse against his will. Some historians, however, speak of a refusal which does him honour; he refused to give one of his nieces to the king of the island of Sicily, who asked her in marriage.

" Not content with bestowing the treasures of the church with unparalleled profusion, he expended considerable sums in founding useful establishments in marriage portions to orphans, and in relieving noble families who had fallen into indigence. One of his biographers accuses him of having thus dissipated the treasures of St. Peter. Could he have made a better use of them? Petrarch, who cannot be suspected of partiality in his favour, assures us that ' none better merited ' the name of Clement, which was well deserved ' by his actions.' His biographers relate a trait of his clemency few could have been capable of. A person who had grievously offended him, ventured to ask a favour from him. He was almost tempted to seize the opportunity of revenging himself, but he resisted the temptation, and the favour was granted.

" Naturally eloquent, he spoke without premeditation, with great fluency and dignity. His consistorial discourses are still extant in the royal

library at Paris, and possess a graceful flow of language. He had a singular talent of transfusing his own sentiments into the minds of others, and of moving the heart as he chose—breathing only peace and union—wherever he saw the seeds of war he hastened to smother them; but all his exertions could establish only a truce between France and England. The jealousies of the two kings, and the eternal antipathy of the two nations, presented obstacles to peace which he found it impossible to surmount. It appeared more difficult to reconcile the queen of Naples and the king of Hungary, but in that difficult task he succeeded. He had nearly accomplished the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. This re-union which he had prepared with skill (but did not live to complete) would have carried the glory of his pontificate to its height.

"Is it not astonishing, that with so many titles to be loved and esteemed by all the world, Clement could never obtain the good will and approbation of Petrarch? But he was a native of France; he did not love Italy as well as Gascony; and instead of restoring the papal court to Rome, he finished the pontifical palace at Avignon commenced by his predecessors. These were the essential defects which eclipsed all the good qualities of Clement in the eyes of Petrarch."

On the death of this accomplished prince, the necessity of a reform in the church was felt by

all who wished for the stability of the papal power. In consequence, the cardinals resolved to elect a man of austere manners, who might reform or curb the licentiousness of the clergy, and at first thought of choosing a Carthusian monk of high reputation for the sanctity of his life; but cardinal Taillerand pleasantly deterred them from this choice. "What are you going to do?" exclaimed he, "do you not see that this monk, accustomed to govern a set of anchorites, would make us live as they do, he would oblige us to go on foot like the Apostles, and send all our noble steeds to the plough!"[8] In more serious terms he represented the folly of passing from one extreme to the other, and choosing a mere hermit to conduct the most momentous affairs of Europe in general; and in consequence of his influence the Carthusian was excluded, and after much perplexity, the election fell on the cardinal of Ostia, who took the name of Innocent the Sixth.

The character of this pontiff accorded with the appellation he chose; he was good but simple, limited in understanding, but upright in intention. One anecdote alone will suffice to show the extent of his capacity. Cardinal Poyet maintained that Petrarch was a magician because he studied Virgil, and Innocent was simple enough to give credit to the assertion. Notwith-

[8] De Sade.

standing, he wished to have Petrarch for his secretary; who declined the office, saying to his friends, "either he will hurt me by his simplicity, or I shall hurt him by my magic."

At this period it seems that Petrarch had some intention of accepting the overtures which were made him to settle at Naples, where every thing was congenial to his taste except the heat of the climate, which affected his health;[9] and perhaps this project increased his unwillingness to visit the papal court. In answer to Acciajuoli who had offered to form an establishment for him between Mount Vesuvius and Salerno, he replied, "Although I have already more than one Parnassus, I will not refuse that you offer; governed by your Apollo, inhabited by your muses, shaded by your laurels, consecrated under your auspices, it cannot but please me. I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of visiting once more this beautiful kingdom, which all writers place not only above Italy, but the whole world." This project he, however, never fulfilled, he could not overcome his horror of a sea voyage, nor his apprehensions of so long a land journey; as during the remainder of his life Italy was filled with banditti, and the soldiers employed in the contentions of its petty states; who, without scruple, robbed and murdered the peaceful traveller.[10]

[9] De Sade, t. iii. 219.

[10] Petrarch had to deplore the loss of more than one friend from this cause.

Acciajuoli was, however, more successful in his endeavours to attract other men of letters to the court of Naples. The celebrated Zanobi da Strada, who in the estimation of his contemporaries ranked next to Petrarch as a scholar and poet, was brought by him to Naples as chief secretary to Louis. A few years after, whilst still holding that office, he presented him to the emperor, Charles IV, as worthy of receiving the laurel crown. That prince, anxious to possess the reputation of a patron of learning, and unable to fulfil the chief object of Acciajuoli's embassy from the court of Naples, willingly complied with this request. Petrarch was so mortified at this participation of his honours, that though previously in close correspondence, he never wrote to Zanobi but once afterwards, and never thoroughly forgave Acciajuoli, suspecting him of having had an intention of mortifying him in the transaction, whilst in common with many of his learned friends, he exclaimed against the presumption of a *barbarian prince,* in daring to pass judgment on their literature. Soon after this, Acciajuoli procured for Zanobi, the lucrative and honourable office of Apostolical secretary, which Petrarch had frequently refused. Notwithstanding the annoyance he had felt at the laurel crown being granted to Zanobi, Petrarch ever retained his esteem for his virtues and talents. On the occasion of his promotion, he wrote as follows, to

one of his friends:—"I hear with pleasure that he has obtained this appointment, I love him and am sure of being loved by him. Amidst so many enemies of God and man we shall be at least sure of one friend.[11] But I grieve for the muses who have lost a mind of that stamp, for it will be thrown away on those with whom he will now associate. I grieve for himself—in accepting this office he has had more regard to his purse than to his reputation, his repose, or his life——if I know him well he will often regret Italy, and the delights of his leisure at Naples."

Zanobi is represented as the most amiable man of the day, and the most engaging in his manners and conversation, not even excepting Petrarch himself. He was so highly esteemed by the Florentines, that when it was proposed in 1396 to erect monuments worthy of the fame of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, one was also decreed to him. How far he was entitled to be thus classed with these illustrious men, posterity is unable to decide; as by some unlucky accident the whole of his poetry, which he bequeathed to his friend and patron, Acciajuoli, was lost, though some elegant prose translations in Italian from St. Gregory are still extant. Not long after he had accepted the luckless appointment Petrarch had deprecated for him, he died of the plague at the court of Avignon. His death caused his con-

[11] At the court of Avignon.

stant friend, Acciajuoli, a grief only inferior to that he felt shortly after for the loss of his own son in the bloom of youth, one of the most accomplished cavaliers of the day:—thus were the public triumphs of Acciajuoli, like those of the pupil he had conducted to the throne, saddened by domestic calamity.

Though neither Petrarch nor Boccaccio ever visited the court of Naples during the life of Louis of Taranto, his accession to the throne was celebrated by each in his own peculiar style. By Boccaccio, according to the allegorical fashion of the day, in three pastoral eclogues in Latin, which would be wholly unintelligible if he had not furnished their explanation himself; and by Petrarch, "who took a warm interest in the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, from respect to the memory of king Robert, and attachment to Joanna,"[12] in a letter to Acciajuoli filled with the wisest precepts for the guidance of this prince, whom he seems to consider in the light of a school-boy, to be fashioned at will by his preceptor. This epistle, which was highly acceptable to the king and queen of Naples, affords a remarkable proof of the estimation in which men of letters were held at this period; no scholar would be found hardy enough at the present day, to address such moral truisms to any prince who had passed the years of early childhood.

[12] De Sade.

CHAP. II.

Overtures of the Sicilians to Joanna and Louis, to take possession of that Island—Joanna crowned at Messina—She returns to Naples—Rebellion between the Neapolitan Princes—The younger Charles of Durazzo educated by Joanna, and her niece, Margaret of Durazzo, adopted by her—Death of Louis of Taranto—His Character—The Order of the Knot—Joanna builds the Church of the Incoronata—Her other Buildings—Architecture and Painting (note).

IN the third year of the joint reign of Louis and Joanna, they were invited by a powerful party in the island of Sicily, to send over a body of troops to take possession of the greater part of the country already in open rebellion against the oppressive government of the Arragonese regency, established during the minority of the young king, Frederic of Sicily. The party in opposition to the regency was headed by Simon, count of Chiaramonte, who was in all things, except the name, sovereign of a large portion of the most fertile part of the island, the remainder was either laid waste by the contending soldiery, or left uncultivated by the oppressed and intimidated peasantry, and, in consequence, the fear of famine brought over as many partizans to Chiara-

monte as the unpopularity of the regency. A supply of provisions was even more earnestly demanded by him from the court of Naples, than assistance in arms, and the three years peace the kingdom had enjoyed having rendered it a scene of abundance, this request was easily complied with, and the relief afforded to a starving population induced many important towns to declare in favour of Louis and Joanna. They were, however, able, at this juncture, only to send a hundred men at arms, under the command of Acciajuoli, and four hundred foot under Raimond de Baux. The kingdom of Naples was divided amongst so many of the princes of the blood, that the revenue it afforded the sovereign was but small. The revenues of Provence and Piedmont had been drained by the Hungarian war. The royal treasury was too much exhausted to support stipendiaries, and the quarrels of the princes of Taranto and Durazzo with each other, and with the barons of the kingdom, obliged Louis to remain at home with his most faithful adherents, to watch over the safety of the realm he had already in possession.

The following year, however, affairs wearing a more peaceful aspect in Naples, Louis passed over with a small force to Sicily, and succeeded in possessing himself of the whole of the island except Catania, and a small district in the neighbourhood where the young king was closely besieged.

On the 24th of December, 1356, Joanna, who had come from Naples for the purpose, made her solemn entry with her husband into Messina, where, after their coronation, they received the allegiance of the people of Messina, and almost all the nobility of the island.

The two Sicilian princesses, Bianca and Violante, who had been taken in the castle of Messina, were here presented to Joanna, and with her usual courteous benevolence, treated as if they had been her sisters, but the possession of their persons which had promised security to her title, proved highly injurious to her interests.

Bianca was, in failure of her brother (a child of feeble constitution), the heiress of the Arragonese family, and immediately on her captivity was demanded in marriage by the count of Chiaramonte in reward of his services. The danger that might have resulted from this alliance, in case of the death of the young Frederic, was too alarming to permit the king and queen to consent to it, and they therefore proposed the duchess of Durazzo to Chiaramonte instead. Whether the count had any previous attachment to Bianca is uncertain, but in the first moment of the refusal he highly resented the disappointment of his hopes, and unfortunately died a few days after, before he could be reconciled to her loss, by a calm consideration of the advantages of the splendid alliance offered to him in her place.

His resentment remained as an inheritance to his family, which in all its branches returned to Frederic of Arragon. However, even thus the conquest of the island would have been completed but for one of the strange accidents incident to the vicissitudes of war, and for the disturbances occasioned at Naples by the violence of the princes of the blood.

Catania, the last refuge of the youthful king of Sicily, had been three months closely besieged by the Neapolitan troops, under Raimond de Baux, but at the end of that time they were obliged to raise the siege for want of funds to pay the Sicilian auxiliaries. On the retreat, the whole of Frederic's forces, and the bravest of the citizens of Catania, fell on the small troop of de Baux, consisting of but three hundred horse, and a thousand foot; the Catanian party, though so much superior in number, were, however, totally defeated, and the greater part left dead on the field. Those who escaped were dispersed through the country, and spreading a report that they had been the victors, they encouraged the peasantry to fall on de Baux's troop, whom they represented as endeavouring to effect a disgraceful flight. On this the peasants poured in on all sides in such numbers, that the Neapolitans, unprepared for any further attack, were taken by surprise, surrounded and broken, de Baux was made prisoner, and Acciajuoli with difficulty escaped.

De Baux was loved by the king and queen almost as a father, and Joanna having no fund from which she could pay his ransom, sold her ornaments, and raised a large sum which was offered to purchase his liberty. The regency would not, however, consent to accept any ransom for the brave and noble de Baux, but offered to exchange him for the princesses Bianca and Violante.[1]

The restoration of "*the fair mischief*" who had occasioned the defection of the house of Chiaramonte did not, however, immediately procure the liberty of the grand chamberlain. The Castellan of Francavilla, who held him in captivity, paid no regard to the orders of the regency, but at last agreed to yield him up on payment of a ransom of two thousand ducats.

Before the effects of this check could be recovered, Louis and Joanna were obliged hastily to return to Naples, to put an end to a civil war which had broken out between the prince of Taranto on one side, and Louis of Durazzo, aided by the count of Minervino, on the other.

The prince of Taranto on the first summons yielded obedience to the crown; and the count of Minervino, on hostages being given, attended the court to obtain redress of the grievances he

[1] Raimond de Baux, grand chamberlain of the kingdom, was uncle to the duke of Andria, who married the princess Margaret of Taranto.

complained of; but his demands were so unreasonable and his conduct so haughty, that notwithstanding the merit of his services in the last invasion of the Hungarians, no choice remained but to subdue him by force as king Robert had done towards the close of his reign. Louis of Durazzo refused to come to a personal interview with the king or queen on any terms, or to pay them obedience in any manner.

During the destructive contest which ensued, the crown was in as great danger, and the kingdom suffered as much as during the Hungarian invasion; the riches of the country and the ill-gotten wealth of the Pipini, attracted hordes of barbarian mercenaries to desolate its soil, and the house of Durazzo brought into the field a large number of the natives to aid and countenance their atrocities; but in the end the Pipini were entirely destroyed; the count of Minervino was taken and hanged; one of his brothers was thrown from a high tower by one of his own soldiers; and the other fled from the kingdom of Naples and perished in some obscure manner, as he was never afterwards heard of.

Louis of Durazzo, more fortunate, received a free pardon in consideration of his royal birth. In token of reconciliation, the king and queen invited all the members of the royal family to a public festival held in the episcopal palace of Naples. The whole of the nobility of the king-

dom were assembled on the occasion, and after the banquet, attended the king in a splendid progress round the city. The customary military games, and *solemn balls,* succeeded for some days in succession.

Louis of Durazzo died the following year, and Joanna then took charge of the education of his only son, Charles, then about twelve years old, who, unhappily for her, inherited the treachery, the ambition, the general ability, and distinguished valour of the first Charles of Durazzo. The similarity of their conduct; the unhappy effects of the marriage of the one with her sister, and of the other with her niece; the tragical death of the first by an appointed assassin in the presence of the king of Hungary, and of the latter in that of the same monarch's daughter, have caused many historians to confound them together, and to attribute the actions of the second Charles of Durazzo to the first of that name.

About the period of this general peace, the marriage of Philip of Taranto and the duchess of Durazzo took place, but Maria willingly resigned to Joanna her youngest daughter, Margaret, who was born at the period of her flight to Provence, and was brought up by the queen in her own court and treated as her daughter, probably endeared to her from the circumstance of her being but a few months younger

than the child she lost on the day of her coronation.

After Louis had thus, a second time, by his prudence no less than his valour in the field, secured Joanna's throne, it is painful to relate, that, neglecting the business of the state, he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and a course of intemperance and folly that shortened his life. The energy of his temperament fitted him rather for the active enterprise of the camp, than the no less important but still duties of the cabinet. Confined to the kingdom of Naples, by the intriguing and restless spirit of the princes of the royal house, whilst Acciajuoli pursued the war in Sicily, he engaged with avidity in the sports of the field, in jousts and tournaments, whilst balls, pageants, and banquets, succeeded each other in quick succession at his brilliant court, where he associated with the gayest, and it may be the most profligate of his nobility. Such a life was not to be pursued with impunity in a climate like that of Naples, and in little more than three years after the overthrow of the Pipini, he died of a fever in Castel Novo.[2]

The faults that marked the closing years of Louis are as much exaggerated by the prejudiced pen of Matthew Villani as those of Clement the Sixth. He represents him as fond of money, careless of justice, abandoned to pleasure, proud

[2] May, 1362.

of his own exploits, and, contrary to the first canon of chivalry,[3] wearying every body by reciting them, insolent in his manners to all around him, not even excepting the queen herself occasionally, and but weakly attached to the princes of his blood, granting them nothing he could avoid.

Of all these accusations, there seems no just foundation for any except his love of pleasure, a defect which we must observe the Villani have unsparingly attributed to all his race, except king Robert, to whom, in its stead, they attribute a reprehensible degree of avarice. Louis, by a remarkable union of prudence and valour, twice saved the kingdom of Naples, torn at once by civil wars and foreign invasion, in circumstances of greater difficulty than those in which his relatives of the house of France fell under the power of England.

The constant employment of such men as Acciajuoli, Raimond de Baux, Hugh Sanseverinesco, Zanobi da Strada, Simonides,[4] and men of the same stamp, show that his gay companions were neither his officers, counsellors, nor ministers; and as for his not favouring the princes of the blood, every dictate of policy and of justice to his subjects in general, prohibited their

[3] Preux chevalier n'en doutez pas
Doit ferir hault et parler bas.—*St. Palaye.*

[4] Prior of the Holy Apostles, the chosen friend of Petrarch.

further aggrandizement, even if the consent of the queen could have been obtained; but, though she had given to Louis himself, besides the title of king, the half of the kingdom of Sicily and county of Provence, as a solid mark of her affection and gratitude, Joanna would not agree to fortify the ambition of his brothers or cousins by any further donations, in a kingdom where they already possessed too much for her own peace or the good of her subjects.[5]

At the period of their union, Louis was distinguished for attractive manners, and a degree of personal beauty which was above the exaggeration of praise; he excelled in every chivalric accomplishment, and "though young, his mind was matured, and gave the happiest hopes."[6] Thus constituted he must have possessed himself of the affections of Joanna, who found in him and him only, of all the human race, one she might dare to love and trust without fear of treachery, or the danger of drawing down destruction on herself or the object of her attachment; he had been the faithful companion of her misfortunes, the able champion of her rights, and by his exertions had securely seated her on that throne which she adorned by her wisdom as a queen, and her strict propriety as a woman. No temporary deviation from the strict and narrow paths of virtue which would doubtless have been, ere

[5] Bouche. [6] Petrarch.

long, trodden again by the repentant wanderer's feet, could invalidate his claims on her affection, and his death was doubtless lamented by Joanna as alike detrimental to her domestic happiness and public security.[7]

[7] The person of a widowed queen was at this period arrayed in what is now the hue adopted by the virgin bride; her garment was the same in fashion as that of a nun, ribbands, jewels, rings, gloves, and the rarer kinds of furs were prohibited during the year of mourning, in which the gradations lasted three months each, and during which time her apartments were hung with the deepest sable. The queen of France was supposed not to leave the chamber in which she was informed of the king's death, till the year of her widowhood had expired. The exact number of days or weeks, that a female mourner was to lie on a bed "covered with white linen, supported by pillows," and then "on a black cloth before the said bed," was exactly regulated according to the rank and consanguinity of the living and the dead. A princess, for instance, lay six weeks on the bed of state, after the death of a parent, whilst the daughter of a banneret was limited to a nine days demonstration of this excess of woe. The countess of Furnès, with amusing naïveté, tells us, in speaking of the mourning of the daughter of the duke de Bourbon, that *madame* was not always *couchée* nor confined to one chamber, *when she was in private.* It is quite laughable to think what a composing of features and hasty resumption of the recumbent posture, must often have been necessary amongst these noble dames, unless their attendants kept as sharp a look out from their watch-towers as sister Anne in Blue Beard. If the aged and demure had the advantage in one way, the young and active had it in another! But thus it ever is, when we attempt to overact *the modesty of nature.*—See *Les Honneurs de la Cour—St. Palaye, Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie.*

The first order of knighthood known in Italy was instituted by Louis of Taranto on the anniversary of his coronation. It was dedicated to the Holy Spirit, and was called the order of the Knot, symbolical of the ties of brotherly love which united him and the brave companions in arms who had followed his banner in the contest with Hungary. The knights of the order wore an azure mantle enriched with jewels, and bearing the golden fleur-de-lis of the founder; it was fastened on the breast with a knot of gold and silver, probably in allusion to the arms of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which were Or on a field argent. On the performance of a signal achievement the knot was unfastened; on the second exploit another was added to the mantle and closed; and by this simple expedient, any number of feats of arms might be denoted.[8] The knights bore in their arms the motto *Si Dieu plait;* beneath the dedication to the Holy Spirit, *Au droit desir.*[9] [10]

[8] Costanzo. [9] Bouche.

[10] This order was revived by Henry III of France under the title of the Order of the Holy Ghost, from a book of its statutes presented to him by the senate of Venice on his return from Poland. This book was given by Henry to the Sieur de Chiverny, with a command to destroy it after making the necessary extracts, that he might have the credit of having devised the laws of the order. The Sieur de Chiverny, however, preserved it as a curiosity in his cabinet, and thus defeated the intention of the royal plagiarist.—See *Bouche, Hist. of Provence,* t. ii. 675.

On the same day on which Louis instituted the order of the Knot, Joanna marked her gratitude to heaven by founding the church and hospital of Santa Maria Incoronata on the site of the ancient courts of justice, where her father immortalized his memory by his equity.

In that age of violence and wrong his tribunal well deserved to be so consecrated; and his daughter, in bestowing this mark of filial reverence, left a monument to associate their names indissolubly together, and gave her subjects a pledge of her resolution to emulate those virtues which were most eminent in his character. In the same spirit of filial piety, she enlarged and ornamented the unfinished monastery of San Martino, which he had founded, and richly endowed the monastery of St. Claire, which contained his tomb and that of the venerable Robert and Sancha.

The Incoronata contains some ancient frescoes now curious as among the earliest specimens of the art, but in a few spikes of "the true crown of thorns,"[11] and some other relics, it possessed treasures more precious to the foundress and her people.[12]

[11] Costanzo.

[12] "It was customary, wherever it was possible, to build churches on the tomb of some martyr, as the religious meetings of the early christians had been held on spots so hallowed; but if the chosen site were not so distinguished, the defect was supplied by bringing the body of some saint to it, and thus it

During the course of her reign Joanna also built the church and hospital of St. Anthony, and founded and endowed many other religious edifices in Naples and Provence. "The various monuments we have of her," says Giannone, "show how great must have been her piety and religion." A liberal patroness of the fine arts, she embellished her capital by many secular buildings of public utility; and tradition ascribes

became an established rule not to consecrate an altar without placing some precious relics under it."—*Fleury, Moeurs Chretiennes.* From this practice resulted the ignorant or fraudulent multiplication of relics; for as the number of martyrs remained the same, and that of churches yearly increased, relics soon became scarce. This was at first remedied by dividing the natural body amongst pious claimants; but this also proving insufficient, a popular saint got as many heads as a hydra, equalled a caterpillar in feet, and Briareus in arms!

Bouche gives rather a ludicrous list of relics sent by Joanna, *of her great bounty and favour*, to a convent in Provence; and Villani relates that when the emperor Manuel married his niece to the king of Jerusalem, he gave her, amongst the other *jewels* and gifts of her dowry, the arm of the Apostle Philip. The patriarch of Jerusalem represented to her that this precious relic was ill-placed amongst her trinkets, and in the end prevailed on her to give it to the city of Florence. The whole population came out in solemn procession to meet it. It was placed under the altar of the baptistery of Saint John, "and worked many signal miracles."—See *Giovann. Villani*, lib. v. cap. xiv.

The frescoes of the Incoronata have been more fortunate than those of St. Claire by Giotto, which were white-washed by a viceroy of the Spanish king, to render the church more light!

to her taste and magnificence some edifices not noticed in history; amongst others, the beautiful ruins of an unfinished palace on the *Spiaggia Mergellina*, called by the Neapolitans *the palace of queen Joanna*.[13]

[13] The most remarkable Italian architects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were John and Nicholas of Pisa, the two Massuccj, and Brunelleschi. The latter is generally, but incorrectly, said to have been the first amongst the moderns who distinguished and employed the ancient orders of architecture. That praise is due to the architect called Massuccio the second, who, from the study of the ancient monuments of Rome, was called by Robert of Naples to erect the church and monastery of St. Claire. Massuccio, however, only designed the belfry of that edifice, which he intended to serve as a model of the five orders of architecture; but the three first only have been executed; the Corinthian and the Composite are still wanting to this stupendous tower, to complete the design of Massuccio.

Giotto, the first painter of the age, ranks also high amongst its architects, and obtained the riches he acquired as much by his labours in the one art as the other. His talents were displayed at a very early age, and whilst employed in guarding his father's sheep he amused himself in drawing on clay, or sand, or slate, the various objects which presented themselves to his view. One of his drawings of a sheep, on slate, was accidentally seen by Cimabue, the restorer of the art of painting, who was so astonished at the spirit with which it was executed, that he begged the boy of his father; and taking him with him to Florence, instructed him in the principles of his art.

From one of the novels of Boccaccio, it appears that Giotto, like his successor, Simon Martini, was as remarkable for his personal ugliness as for his great talents. On one occasion, riding out in the neighbourhood of Florence with a doctor of laws equally ugly and equally eminent in his own profession, they were overtaken by a deluge of rain which obliged them to

seek shelter in the cottage of a peasant, and equip themselves anew from the scanty wardrobe of its master. In this coarse garb Giotto appeared so inexpressibly ridiculous, that his companion, as they were riding home, forgetful of the similarity of his own appearance, burst into a fit of laughter and exclaimed, "What stranger meeting you now, Giotto, could recognize in you the greatest painter in the world." "And who," quietly replied the painter, "could imagine that you knew your A B C!"

Two contemporary painters of Florence, Buffalmaco and Bruno, more zealous in the pursuit of amusement than in the study of their art, furnish the subject of several of the novels of Boccaccio. The principal victim of their practical jokes was Calandrino, a brother artist remarkable for his credulity. One of their pranks is illustrative of the simple manners of the day; it consisted in stealing a pig from Calandrino, who had gone to a little farm he possessed in the neighbourhood of Florence, to have it killed and salted for the use of his family; and their chief diversion arose from the dread Calandrino expressed of returning to his wife after his loss. On another occasion they take the simple wight to the top of a steep mountain to bring home the heliotrope, a stone supposed to render the bearer invisible. He comes home loaded, as he supposes, with this treasure; his companions feign not to see him; and his rage knows no bounds when an unlucky meeting with his wife breaks the spell, as he thinks, by the charm-destroying power of her sex.

Dante speaks of the magical power of the heliotrope in the Inferno, canto 24.

> "Nor hope had they of crevice, where to hide,
> Or heliotrope to charm them out of view."
>
> *Cary's Translation.*

The best pictures of Buffalmaco (whose real name we learn from Lanzi, was Buonamico di Cristofano), are said to have perished; but many of his works are in good preservation in

the Campo Santo at Pisa. The subjects of these are taken from the Book of Genesis and the Gospels; in one from the former is a figure about seven feet high, representing the Creator supporting the Universe. The forcible expression and masculine energy of the countenance of Cain is much admired, as also the horror depicted in that of a man flying from Calvary, in one of the series from the New Testament. The women are vulgar and coarse with a frightful expansion of mouth, and there is little variety of feature or attitude. The texture of the draperies is distinctly marked, and the doublings, laces, flowers, and other ornaments, are much laboured. Bruno, the gay companion of Buffalmaco, was very inferior in his art, and despairing of attaining his energy of expression, endeavoured to supply the defect by written labels from the mouths of his figures, telling their stories and sentiments. The pictures of this period rarely presented one undivided surface, but were divided into compartments, containing each a single figure standing upright like a statue in a niche, much in the manner of the figures of Saints and Apostles in a Gothic window. The framework which formed these compartments were, like the exterior frame, richly gilt and often set with jewels. These ornaments were, in fact, generally more esteemed than the picture itself; and hence, perhaps, the term "*ricchissime pitture*," in Boccaccio and other early Italian novelists. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, as the art made more progress, the painter supplied the interior divisions with arches and pillars, though he had not yet arrived at grouping his figures—doors and windows began also about the same time to be introduced into pictures.

See Lanzi—Storia Pittorica della Italia.

CHAP. III.

Death of Innocent VI, and Election of Urban V—Ambitious Schemes of the Prince of Taranto—Marriage of Joanna with James of Majorca—Two Knights presented to her as a gift—Spirit of Chivalry—James of Majorca goes to Spain to avenge his Father's Death—His Defeat—Accompanies the Black Prince in support of Peter the Cruel—Is made Prisoner—Ransomed by Joanna—Re-visits Spain—His Death—Death of Acciajuoli—Provence invaded by the Duke of Anjou—Naples invaded by Ambrose Visconti—Joanna's successful resistance.

THE last important public act of Clement VI was the bull granted for the coronation of Louis of Taranto, and almost the last act of his successor, Innocent VI, was the solemn celebration of the obsequies of that prince in the papal chapel at Avignon.[1]

On the death of Innocent, the cardinals were as much perplexed in their choice of a supreme pontiff as they had been on the death of Clement; but at last, more, as it appeared, by chance than design, all their votes were found to concur in the nomination of a man who was not even a member of the Sacred College, nor of the prelacy. This unanimous election of William de Grimoard,

[1] 20th August, 1362.

abbot of the convent of St. Victoire of Marseilles, was thought, by the wisest of the age, to have been the result of the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which had impelled men, for the most part distinguished for ambition and the freedom of their manners, to choose for their master a man of pure morals and pre-eminent wisdom and virtue.

At the period of his election, William de Grimoard, who took the name of Urban V, was at Naples, where he had been sent under pretence of conveying a compliment of condolence to Joanna on the death of Louis, but in fact charged to watch her conduct, and report all her proceedings to the papal court, which kept one or more of these holy spies in the capital of every sovereign in Europe. The result, however, of his observations on the character and government of the queen at this period proved no less fortunate than honourable to her. During his five months residence at her court as abbot of St. Victoire, she so entirely possessed herself of his friendship and esteem, that, when Pope, he promoted her interests as constantly and zealously as Clement VI had done, and lavished honours on her never before or since bestowed on any of her sex.

On the death of Louis, Joanna sent to Acciajuoli at Messina to conclude a truce with Frederic of Sicily, and return to Naples with as many troops as he could bring, to counteract the in-

trigues of the princes of the royal family. The prince of Taranto, as soon as he became acquainted with the death of the king, hastened to Naples under pretext of rendering assistance to Joanna, but in fact prompted by the hope of administering the government in her name and leaving her but the shadow of royalty. Had she not firmly resisted him in the first instance, it is hard to say how far his ambition might have carried him, powerful as he was as the first prince of the blood, and possessing, in his own right, wealth and territory scarcely compatible with the security of the realm.

Joanna, therefore, calling to her counsels and assistance all the chief barons of the kingdom, peremptorily refused to permit her brother-in-law to interfere in her government in any manner. Her administration had so perfectly satisfied the people and the nobility, that they desired no change; and they so effectually supported her measures, that the prince of Taranto, hopeless of success, retired in disgust to his own states.

All, however, feared that it would not long be possible for the queen, alone and unaided, to keep in check the hot heads of the Neapolitan princes; and the people anxiously desired that a child of hers should inherit the crown. The council, therefore, earnestly advised her to marry as soon as the period of her widowhood should expire. John of France, at the very commencement of her

widowhood, proposed his son Philip, duke of Tours; and previous to entering into negociation with the court of Naples, went in person to Avignon to procure the consent and good offices of Urban V, to promote a union so advantageous to the House of France. But the youth of the duke of Tours, ten or twelve years younger than the queen, presented an insuperable bar to the alliance, as the introduction of an inexperienced boy was likely only to increase the evils she sought to prevent; nor was it probable that a prince of the reigning house of France would long be content to abide by the conditions on which she would alone agree to bestow her hand. She further feared that the quarrels of the haughty nobility in his train, with the native princes, would renew the miseries that had attended the Hungarian alliance, and therefore preferred a prince of inferior lineage, but of years suitable to her own, and of high character for honour and martial accomplishments, and readily agreed to the election of her council, which had fallen on James, Infant of Majorca, a nephew of king Robert in the female line, and heir to the Balearic isles, Roussillon and Cerdaigne territories, which, however inconsiderable in themselves, were, by their local situation, valuable to the Provençal states.

Accordingly, this marriage was completed in the second year of Joanna's widowhood, on condition that James of Majorca should possess only

the dukedom of Calabria, and should neither assume the title of king, nor demand any share in the government, to both of which it was optional on the part of the queen to admit him, in case heaven should bless their union with children.

The royal marriage was celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and was accompanied or quickly followed by that of the young duchess of Durazzo to Robert count of Artois; and of her sister, the princess Agnes, with Can della Scala, prince of Verona.

It seems to have been about the period of these marriages, that Joanna received from an Italian nobleman the extraordinary present of *two knights*, to be absolutely disposed of according to her own will and pleasure. This curious incident is related by Brantome with so much of the spirit of chivalry, from the celebrated work of Paris of Puteo[2] on the Laws of Single Combat, that it is here rendered as closely as possible to his expression, as it would lose its peculiar character if either abridged or modernized.

"Paris of Puteo, a venerable doctor of laws, relates that this beautiful queen held an open and solemn ball in her city of Gaeta, amidst the flower of her nobility, on the occasion of some

[2] Paris of Puteo was a doctor of laws in the reign of Alfonzo I of Naples, his work on the Laws of Duel, is referred to by St. Palaye in his Memoirs of Chivalry, and by Costanzo in his History of Naples.

marriage feasts or other honourable rejoicings. Amongst the nobles present was Galeazzo of Mantua, one of the most accomplished princes of Italy in those days, whom the queen made choice of to dance with her.

"The dance being ended, and Galeazzo having acquitted himself well, he came before her royal seat, and after making a low obeisance, bent his knee to the ground and thanked her very humbly for the honour she had rendered him with so much courtesy and graciousness; and declaring he knew not how to recompence it by any service worthy of it, made there at her feet a vow to wander through the world in search of deeds of arms at every hazard, risk, and peril, until he should have vanquished and captured two valiant knights to bestow as a gift on her, to dispose of as she thought best. See how, in past times, such as he were able to recompence their superiors!

"By this the queen saw, at least, that though not approaching in any degree to her incomparable nobleness, she had not honoured a knight who was not of some worth, nor less endowed with wit and *gentleness*,[3] replied only that '*in good time, and by the grace of God, he should accomplish his vow, since such was his pleasure and the custom of knighthood.*'

"The knight then departed, and went to France, Burgundy, Spain, Germany, Hungary,

[3] In the sense of courtesy.

and other regions, provinces, and kingdoms, where was then to be met the flower of chivalry. He hazarded himself, challenged, fought, and at last conquered and captured the two promised knights, partly by his valour, partly by the favour of fortune, and brought them to the kingdom of Naples.

"At the end of the year Galeas sought the queen, and bending one knee to the ground, presented the captive knights, accomplishing his vow with great solemnity.

"The queen in return, with becoming grace and great majesty (in which she was never found wanting) received the vow and the deed as gallantly accomplished, and offering all possible courtesies to prince Galeas pronounced him a most worthy knight, and accepted the two captives, to whom she said these words—

"'Sirs, you are, as you see, my prisoners. By the laws of chivalry I may cause such as are in your captive condition to serve me in any ignoble office I may best please; but I think you will judge by my countenance that cruelty does not dwell in my heart to dispose of the unfortunate in such like manner. Of my clemency, then, and humanity, I give you from this hour entire liberty and franchise to act as you please, whether to return free to your own country, or before you depart, to solace yourselves in my kingdom and view the curiosities of it, which are sufficiently admirable; after having visited

them, return to me, and when you choose to depart I shall be well pleased to commend you to God.'

"Who so happy as these two knights! They did not fail to execute their gentle sentence, and to solace themselves for a good space amidst the delights of this pleasant kingdom, which then abounded in pleasures and was governed by so noble a queen.

"When they had seen the whole at their ease, they came to take leave of their sovereign lady and mistress (since they were captives and slaves). She furnished them liberally with gifts, as she had done before, and having given them money for their journey, and thick and heavy gold chains, they departed seeking adventures here and there, and publishing on their passage the virtues, humanity, and courtesy of the queen, as they had just reason to do, none of her time possessing these qualities in the same degree."

What follows this recital is perhaps still more curious to the inquirer after ancient manners. Brantome thus proceeds—"This doctor that I have quoted, the venerable doctor Paris of Puteo a very worthy man, and who has well written the account of this duel, greatly extols this queen, and says, that in this instance, she merits much more praise than the canons of St. Peter's church at Rome, at whose holy altar a victor knight having given one he had vanquished and thus

gained in single combat, with arms, horse, and trappings, in the lands of the patrimony of St. Peter's, for them to dispose of as they pleased, according to the laws of single combat; these canons were so inhuman, that in lieu of acting with mercy like this compassionate and good queen, they kept this poor devil of a knight in a sort of bondage in the church, without any other exercise than pacing to and fro, and sometimes looking out at the passengers through the open doors; and during his life he never passed beyond the threshold: as I saw formerly in Spain done by those who had taken refuge in the church for some crime they had committed. Thus this doctor Paris blames these holy brothers and commends this queen Jane, who certainly cannot have as much praise as she merits for her innumerable virtues."

No laws are so binding as those which men impose upon themselves under the name of *laws of honour*—though the miserable slave of the canons of St. Peter's church might at any hour have escaped through the *open doors* at which he so sadly watched the steps of the free passenger, yet he chose rather to spend his life within its drear walls than to dare the infamy that would have attached to his name had he fled from his masters without ransom or license.

The persons of the vanquished were so much the property of their conquerors, that they not unfrequently left them as legacies to their friends.

This vestige of the manners of pagan antiquity long disgraced christian Europe, and was not abolished till standing armies rendered prisoners of war the care of the state.

It has frequently, and with justice, been said, that whatever virtue survived the rude contentions of the uncurbed passions of men in the middle ages, was chiefly owing to the noble and generous spirit of chivalry; but the practice of the virtues of chivalry seems to have been arrested at a certain rank, below which their influence was not felt; the same man was often generous and humane to his equal, who was unfeelingly cruel to his inferior. Few things are more revolting to a humane mind than the proofs in every page of Froissart, the lively chronicler of the deeds of chivalry, of how little the sufferings of humanity, below a certain rank, were regarded in the age in which he wrote; in summing up the enormities of Geoffrey Tête-Noir, he tells us, as the climax of iniquity, that he thought no more of taking the life of a prince or a knight of noble blood than that of a menial or peasant; and relates frequent massacres of the common herd in France without a comment, seemingly unconscious that such things deserved censure. It is the triumph of modern law and modern justice, to have burst this narrow circle which confined the virtues and to have commanded their universal exercise and application.[4]

[4] The

The rejoicings which attended the marriage of Joanna and James of Majorca, were interrupted by the intelligence of the violent death of the king of Majorca, who had been treacherously seized by Peter, king of Arragon, and murdered in prison. To avenge his father's death and recover his inheritance, James left Naples for Spain, at the end of three months, with whatever troops and money he could raise. The assistance Joanna could afford him at this juncture was but small, for though there seemed no danger of disturbances at home, all the force of her kingdom was required to resist the aggression of the dukes of Savoy and Milan, who had entered into a treaty to attack Piedmont and divide it between them. The vigour of her measures, and the valour and fidelity of the Provençals baffled their unprincipled hostility, but the king of Majorca, combating the murderer of his father with more passion than prudence, was completely defeated, and fled for refuge to the Black Prince, then residing in his French territories at Bourdeaux. "The prince," says Froissart, "received him

[4] The reader who may be still curious on the subject of chivalry after all that has lately been written about it, will be interested by the Lay of the Bachelor at Arms, and the Instructions of the Lord of Amanieu, in St. Palaye's Memoirs, which are doubly interesting as pictures of ancient manners, and as specimens of the style of the compositions of the troubadours of Provence in the fourteenth century.

well and furnished him handsomely, for he was a stranger and far from his own country; and his finances were low."

The noble Edward promised to re-instate the injured prince in all his rights if he would accompany him in the expedition he meditated in support of Peter, called the Cruel, king of Castile; who, however, was it seems no worse than his brother of Arragon. The brilliant success of the English arms on that occasion is well known. James of Majorca fought at the side of the Black Prince in the glorious victories he obtained in the Peninsula, but at the end of the campaign, during "the stay the prince made at Valladolid, which was upwards of four of the hottest months of the year; he was confined to his bed through sickness, at which the prince and other lords were much concerned."

This fatal residence at Valladolid, was occasioned by the ingratitude and perfidy of Peter of Castile, who failed in all his engagements with his brave champion. The English suffered so much from the effects of the climate, "for even the prince himself was unwell and in low spirits," that a retreat was pronounced necessary by the council. "On the eve of their departure, the prince sent sir Hugh Courtenay and sir John Chandos, to inform the king of Majorca why he was about to quit Spain, and that he should be much concerned to leave him behind, in case he

wished to return." On which the king replied to the knights, "I give my lord the prince, our brother soldier, my best thanks; but at present I cannot ride, nor, until it please God, can I raise my foot to the stirrup." The knights answered by inquiring, "if he wished the prince should leave behind some men at arms as a guard for him, and to conduct him when he should be in a condition to mount on horseback." The king said, "by no means, for it is uncertain how long I may be forced to remain here."

On the retreat of the English, the towns they had re-conquered for their faithless ally submitted to his brother and bitter enemy, Henry of Transtamare, who immediately marched to Valladolid to secure the king of Majorca.

"As soon as he entered the town, he inquired where the king of Majorca was lodged, and when the place was pointed out to him, he immediately on his going thither entered the hotel and the room where he was confined by illness. Henry advanced towards him and said, 'King of Majorca you have been our enemy, and have entered our kingdom of Castile with a large army, for which reason we lay our hands on you and make you our prisoner, or you are a dead man.' Sensible of the difficulty of his situation, and that opposition would be of no avail, James replied, 'Sir, I am certainly dead if you order it so, but I am very willing to surrender myself as your prisoner,

and to you alone; if you intend to place me in any other hands say so, for I had much rather die than fall into the hands of my adversary the king of Arragon.'

"'By no means whatever,' replied king Henry, 'will I act so disloyally by you, for which, and with good reason, I should be greatly blamed; you shall remain my prisoner for me to ransom, or set at liberty according to my own will.'"

As soon as the intelligence of her husband's captivity reached Joanna, she set on foot a negotiation for his liberty, which she procured for an immense ransom,[5] "so graciously paid," says Froissart, "that the king of Castile felt obliged, and thanked her for it.

"The moment the king of Majorca gained his liberty he set out for Naples, but remained there only sufficient time to collect large sums of money and a body of troops, with which he again set off to make war on the king of Arragon, whom he could never love, as he had slain his father and detained his inheritance." According to Froissart, Joanna used every argument that prudence could urge to induce him to give up the rash enterprise —represented the peril, the utter hopelessness of the undertaking, and painted all the riches and pleasures which the kingdom of Naples offered

[5] Muratori, Bouche, &c.

[6] Froissart joins the marchioness of Monferrat with Joanna in this transaction; but this seems to be an error.

in compensation for the small territory he had lost; but the desire of revenging the death of his father had obtained the whole dominion of his soul, and he was impenetrable to all her arguments and entreaties;[7] finding he was not to be dissuaded, she issued an edict, ordering him to receive the highest honours in his passage through Provence, and an aid of ten thousand florins of gold to bear his expenses.

James remained a month at Avignon, during which time he engaged an additional body of men at arms, at a very high price, English Gascons, Britons, and some of the free companions under sir Gracian du Chatel, John de Malestroit, Sylvestre Budes, and James Bray; "With the consent of the king of Navarre they marched through his kingdom and advanced into Arragon, overran the country, taking and destroying small forts and ransoming the inhabitants; but whilst this war was carried on, which was done with much inveteracy and cruelty, the king of Majorca fell sick again at Val di Soria, and the disorder increased so much that he died."[8]

[7] See the curious piece called her Confession, *Appendix*, No. I.

[8] The exact words of Froissart have been given in the relation of the adventures of this prince, to refute the fables circulated by Collenuccio with regard to him. The Italian and Provençal historian can only ascertain that he went to Spain three months after his marriage, was taken prisoner and ransomed by Joanna, returned for a few months to Naples, went a

On the death of this luckless prince, Joanna was again advised and solicited to marry, but shocked at the premature death which seemed the allotted destiny of all who entered into the marriage union with her, and convinced heaven had willed no child of hers should live to wear her crown, she resolved to struggle alone against the difficulties of her situation.

The death of James of Arragon was quickly followed by that of Robert, prince of Taranto, who left his territories to his youngest brother, Philip, the husband of Maria, duchess of Durazzo; and by that of Nicholas Acciajuoli, in whom the queen, at a most trying period, lost a faithful counsellor and able minister.

Acciajuoli was too eminent amongst his contemporaries to be suffered to pass off the busy scene of life without some prodigy to give dignity to his last farewell. St. Bridget, who was infected by the travelling propensities of the Saints of her day, came from Rome to Naples on a pious mission, and for a time established her

second time to Spain and died there, they say, in the field of battle.

Nostradamus dates the edict, above mentioned, in 1370; but Muratori, in his Annals, proves that he left Naples in 1365, and from the relation of Froissart it seems that he died a few months after, immediately on his irruption into Spain. The same Chronicler mentions, that the siege of Tarascan was going on when James was in Provence, which Bouche places a year or two later.

residence with her sister. She was seated beside her one day in a fit of abstraction, when she suddenly exclaimed, "Your brother will die soon."[9] The terrified sister went in haste to seek the grand seneschal, and found him apparently in perfect health at Castel Novo, conferring with the queen on matters of importance. They disregarded the prediction of the Saint at the moment, but a few days after, Acciajuoli died of the bursting of an abscess in his head.

Joanna had scarcely defeated the attack of the dukes of Savoy and Milan, on Piedmont, when the house of France, finding Provence could not be obtained by an alliance with her, endeavoured to seize it by force, on the pretext, it is said, of some chimerical rights proceeding from the ancient kings of Arles, which the emperor, Charles the Fourth, Esau-like, made over to the duke of Anjou, in recompense of a dinner he gave him at Villeneuve, in the year 1364.

But Joanna took her measures so well, negotiated so ably at the court of France, and was so zealously supported by the friendship of Urban and the valour and fidelity of the Provençals, that the duke of Anjou failed in his attempt, and was able to carry on the war only from March till October.[10] During this period the most extravagant bribes had vainly been offered to corrupt the fidelity of the Provençal barons. To

[9] Platina, &c. [10] Bouche.

Rainier of Grimaldis, prince of Morguez, the duke of Anjou offered a pension of four thousand florins yearly, until his brother, Charles the Fifth, should make over to him the county of Lunel in Languedoc; promising to appoint him high admiral of the realm of France, and to reimburse him and his relations for all losses they might sustain by their revolt against their sovereign. Joanna, who liberally rewarded all who ever rendered her service, had sent Grimaldis, in token of her approbation of his exertions in the recapture of Tarascon, a donation of the same sum which the duke of Anjou offered to present him annually. Incapable alike of ingratitude or treason, he treated the offers of the duke with scorn, and proved himself the chief agent in his final discomfiture.

It was not in Provence alone, that Joanna was at this period obliged to struggle against the violence and injustice of her contemporaries; she was no sooner known to have become again a widow, than bands of the free companions, supposing it would be an easy matter to establish themselves in a kingdom ruled by a female sovereign, prepared to invade the kingdom of Naples.

Ambrose Visconti, called the Bastard of Milan, entered Naples at the head of twelve thousand lancers (a force in those days esteemed of alarming magnitude, as each knight was supported by

numerous followers never taken into account), and seized on some portion of Abruzzo, robbing and killing the inhabitants without mercy. Joanna, in the first instance, sent against him a small body of stipendiaries which she kept in pay, under the command of Giovanni Malataca, and assembling round her all the veteran soldiers of Louis of Taranto, exhorted them, with her resistless eloquence, once more to free their country from merciless barbarians, and enjoined them to excite the youth of Naples to follow them to the field and emulate their past deeds.[11] To the barons of the kingdom she wrote to the same effect, and, in consequence, two thousand seven hundred of the Milanese army, alone escaped from the kingdom, Ambrose was himself taken prisoner and confined in one of the castles of Naples for many years.

To each of the barons, the queen, after the victory, wrote a letter of thanks with her own hand, and rewarded every one of inferior degree according to his merits.[12]

[11] Costanzo. [12] Ibid.

CHAP. IV.

Vigorous Administration of Joanna—She promotes the Interests of Commerce, and of Learning—Her wise Legislation—Civilians, Bartholus, Baldus, &c.—Astrological and Medical Sciences—Mechanics: Clocks, and Invention of the Compass.

THE rapidity with which these various invasions had succeeded the death of Louis of Taranto contradicts the assertion of Matthew Villani, that he was little feared by his contemporaries, for during the ten years which had elapsed from his coronation to his death, no aggression had been attempted by any foreign prince, but his requiem was scarcely said, ere the divided states of Joanna were attacked at all points; but after the discomfiture of Ambrose Visconti, she was not again for many years molested by any foreign power.

The wise measures she adopted soon cleared the kingdom of Naples of the bands of malefactors and robbers which at every preceding period had more or less infested it. By a royal ordonnance, each baron was now made responsible for the good order of his own fiefs; and was obliged, under severe penalties, either to deliver up malefactors to the officers of justice, or to banish them

from his lands, granting them neither shelter nor subsidy under pain of forfeiture. When a band of depredators assembled in sufficient numbers to fortify themselves in any strong hold, their certain doom was thereby sealed. The queen immediately sent a body of troops sufficient to invest it, with orders never to raise the siege till it was taken, or to accept any ransom for their lives. All who were thus taken were publicly executed as criminals, and one victim of justice inspired more terror than ten who died at the point of the sword.

By these means the caves of Calabria became as secure as the halls of Castel Novo. "The rich man," says Boccaccio, "as well as the poor, could, caroling as he went, traverse by night or by day, with perfect security, not only towns and villages, but the wildest forests, mountains, or caverns: this the predecessors of Joanna were either not willing or not able to accomplish. And what is not less salutary, by the modesty of her own manners she has reformed the licentiousness of her nobility, and so curbed their pride that those who formerly paid little regard to their kings, to-day dread the frown of an offended woman."

Duly to estimate the merit of Joanna's government, it will be necessary to recall to mind the lawless condition of Continental Europe at that period, and the disturbed state of the kingdom of Naples during the latter years of king Robert's reign,

which in every province had become a scene of tumult, bloodshed, and rapine.[1] The Villani strongly prejudiced against all his race, attribute this to the passion of avarice, which they say prevented the efficient administration of justice. The historians of Naples exonerate the venerable king from this imputation, and attribute the disorders of the kingdom to the audacity of the barons, hoping impunity from his infirm health and the prospect of a feeble minority; but whatever was the cause, the effect was indisputable, and robbery, the prevailing vice of Europe in general, and existing to a horrible excess in many parts of Italy, began to be practised in Naples almost as frequently as in modern times.[2]

To promote the interests of commerce and the peace of the capital hitherto disturbed by the quarrels of the foreign merchants, with the natives, and with each other in their jealous rivalry, Joanna built four separate streets in the lower

[1] Costanzo, Giannone, Villani.

[2] *Living by the saddle*, as pillage and murder was delicately called in one of *gentle blood*, was followed without shame in many parts of Europe as a profession by men of noble birth, who fortified themselves in castles near frequented roads, and subsisted by levying contributions on the passengers.

Probably every reader will recollect the anecdote of an archbishop of Cologne who was asked by a newly-appointed Castellan, what was to be his salary? The reverend prelate led him to a window, and pointed to four roads within sight, significantly intimating that all that passed was to be his prey.

part of the town in the vicinity of the marine castles for the four principal commercial nations who traded to the capital, the Provençals, the Spaniards, the Venetians, and the Genoese.

The exemption from taxation and from forced loans which this wise and equitable queen would never suffer to be levied in any emergency; the strict and prompt administration of civil and criminal justice, and the perfect security of the roads, rendered Naples the favourite resort of the industrious trader; and it was, therefore abundantly supplied, not only with the necessaries of life, but with all the luxuries of distant regions which the activity of commerce could procure.[3]

The interests of learning and the arts were not less favoured by Joanna. "Even in the

[3] In the catalogue of the magnificent effects of Fonthill Abbey, "the earliest known specimen of oriental china," is mentioned as having once been the property of Joanna of Sicily. This specimen is a vase of pale sea-green, "incrusted with flowers in relief, in compartments, with silver gilt spout and handle in the Gothic taste; the cover is embellished with paintings in enamel, and the arms of Joan of Arragon, the queen of Naples, the friend of Petrarch. The handle, rim, and foot, bear the legend of the house of Anjou, in Gothic characters upon blue enamel." The shape of the vase is extremely elegant, but the arms are nearly effaced, they with the handle and the other embellishments, were most probably executed in Europe, where painting in enamel was much practised at this period.

most disturbed periods of her reign, she liberally patronized the schools of learning,[4]" and all who had begun in the close of the preceding reign to distinguish themselves in any branch of science, she rewarded with pensions and honours. Numbers of those eminent in any profession were at all times to be found in her court and palace, as she inherited her grandfather's fondness for the society of learned men, and freely admitted them to her presence in private life; when laying aside the impressive majesty which marked her deportment in public, "she was so gracious, gentle, compassionate, and kind, that she seemed rather the companion than the queen of those around her."[5]

Of these favoured scholars, though ranking but secondary to the theologist in the estimation of a superstitious age, the jurisconsult was most eminent amongst the learned of the court of Naples in the reign of Joanna. To regulate the administration of justice, to assimilate as much as possible the judicial proceedings in the various cities of her dispersed dominions, to establish every where royal courts of appeal, and fill them with men unbiassed by *local* interests, who, wholly unconnected with the appellants, might protect the weak and poor against the oppression of the powerful, was her unceasing care.[6] Previously to her reign, the courts of appeal were ge-

[4] Giannone. [5] Boccaccio. [6] Bouche, Hist. Provence.

nerally composed, if not entirely, at least in part, of those who gave the primary sentence, and in some cases by a peculiar privilege, as at Nice, the revision of a sentence was confided to an inferior magistrate of the community, always an ignorant judge, and generally from his low station open to intimidation and bribery. By taking the supreme administration of justice out of the hands of the prelates and barons of each district, the lowest of Joanna's subjects was protected by her constant vigilance from their oppressions. The labour of the task cannot now easily be estimated, as a multitude of ancient laws and customs interfered with her designs: most of these, it is true, might be cancelled at her sole will and pleasure; but every, the most minute change amongst contending interests, required mature deliberation, and an express royal edict. From the wisdom of the few of her laws which had descended to his time, the civilian Giannone, the highest authority on such points, pronounces her the wisest queen who had ever filled a throne. The most eminent lawyers of the universities of Italy were constantly employed by her, and their labours recompensed by liberal rewards and honours. Amongst the jurisconsults of the University of Naples, Nicholas Spinelli was made count of Gioja and high chancellor of the kingdom, and one of her edicts commands, that "Andrew of Isernia, Nicholas of Naples, and

Luke of Penna, should be revered in her dominions when interpreting the laws as *a human Trinity.*"[7] The expression partakes of the age, but its spirit was necessary to protect them from the insults of a turbulent nobility, whose interests not unfrequently suffered by their decisions.

When the first and most eminent of this legal triumvirate died, Joanna more frequently applied for advice to the most famous jurisconsults of foreign universities in all questions of difficult succession to feudal possessions. The answer of the lawyers of Perugia, on the famous question of the succession of uterine brothers, is still extant in the councils of Angelus, the famous pupil of the famous Bartholus, who, in the pompous language of the day, was styled "Star and light of jurisconsults, master of truth, beacon of law, and guide of the blind."[8]

[7] Giannone, lib. xxiii.

[8] Bartholus, the head of this University, was employed by Charles IV, in the composition of the famous golden bull, the fundamental law of the Germanic empire, which regulated the rights, privileges, and functions of the electors, and the ceremonies to be observed on the election of an emperor. Written in the spirit of the age, it begins with an apostrophe to Satan, pride, luxury, anger, and envy, which we may observe was not unappropriate to the cabals attending the election of the first temporal sovereign of Europe.

At the ratification of the golden bull at the diet of Nuremberg, the duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, filled the office of cup-bearer to the emperor; the duke of Saxony, as marshal, appeared with a silver dish filled with oats; the marquis of

Baldus of Perugia was also the pupil and rival of Bartholus, whose erudition he is even thought to have exceeded; and by an extraordinary versatility of talent, whilst his profound learning

Brandenburg presented water to the emperor and empress to wash as they sat down to table; the elector, count palatine, placed the golden dishes on their board.—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, t. iv. 84.

We may observe that the golden bull followed within ten years of the election of Rienzi to the tribunate of Rome, who, on that occasion, challenged the German electors to produce the writings on which they grounded their right to choose an emperor to the exclusion of the Roman people. The demand was an embarrassing one, and doubtless occasioned the golden bull to silence any future questioner of their privileges. Bartholus was rewarded by the emperor with the lucrative privilege of legitimizing natural children, of granting dispensations of age to the students of jurisprudence, and the less profitable honour of bearing the arms of Bohemia. Among the works of Bartholus is found a curious tract, which had astonishing success at the period of its composition, and though more technically learned, was but an imitation of many of the poetical, but we must say, profane pleadings of the troubadours of Provence. The tract in question is a cause pleaded in form before Christ—Satan, versus the Human Race—Cacœdæmon, the Satanic prothonotary, pleads on one side, and the Virgin Mary on the other—All the regular forms of law are observed—In fine, the judge pronounces the sentence, in his tribunal at the bar of the court of justice, above the thrones of the angels in his celestial palace, after having examined all the citations, procurations, allegations, replies, exceptions, and rejoinders. The sentence is written and published by St. John the Evangelist, notary to the angelic court, as Cacœdæmon is to the infernal!—*Ginguené, Hist. Litteraire.*

was the astonishment of his contemporaries, the liveliness and brilliancy of his conversation, replete with wit and repartee, was not less so, no man of that age rivalling him in this particular. His wit and his learning were each prized in their season by the intellectual and affable Joanna. Grateful for her liberal patronage of learning, admiring her as a wise legislatrix, a magnanimous sovereign, a beautiful woman, and a fascinating companion, he has transmitted the most vivid encomiums of her character and conduct to posterity, and has thus saved his *own* name from oblivion.[9]

The grave astrologer, 'looking portents,' was frequently to be met in the halls of Castel Novo, and though no instance is recorded in which his predictions influenced the decisions of its mistress, his art was cultivated at Naples, as at all other universities of the times, as a distinct branch of science taught by regular professors. Astronomy was generally divided into practical and speculative, which words were perverted to a meaning directly contrary to what we should assign them, *speculative* astronomy was the observation of the

[9] One other lawyer of this age is worthy of mention. William of Pastrengo, the author of the first general biographical and historical dictionary, which is said to have been executed with surprising erudition and skill. Thus, Italy, in the 13th and 14th centuries, furnished models in every branch of literature except the dramatic.

changes of the heavenly bodies, and *practical* astronomy was the application of those changes to the art of foretelling the destinies of man, which we know by the name of astrology.

Many of the professors of astrology were enthusiasts, as much deceived by the visions of their art as the multitude in general, but others were conscious impostors.

As the course of diseases and the effects of remedies were supposed to be regulated by celestial influences, it naturally resulted that physicians should generally be astrologers; to say the truth, the one science was nearly as visionary as the other, and though Nondimenus had revived the study of anatomy by his works and experiments, we may without hesitation pronounce that the majority of the professors of the healing art were ignorant empirics.[10]

[10] The usual course of medical advice is thus summed up by Petrarch: "The moment I see a physician, I know before-hand what he will say to me:—'Eat young poultry, drink warm water, use the remedy the stork has taught us.'" They generally objected to salted meat, raw herbs, and fruit—to the wisdom of the latter prohibition Petrarch would not assent. "Physicians," says he, "regard fruit as almost equally poisonous with aconite and henbane; if this be true, surely nature is a cruel stepmother to have given to fruits such beauty of colouring, such a delightful perfume, and so agreeable a taste, purposely to seduce and draw us into the snare; would a good mother present poison to her children covered with honey?"—*De Sade, Mem. Petrarque.*

From this imputation, the two Dondi, father and son, deserve to be excepted—exempt from the astrological follies of their brethren, they practised their art in a more rational manner; and, employing their leisure in the study of pure astronomy and mechanics, constructed the celebrated clock which was placed on the tower of the palace of the Visconti at Padua in 1344, which not only indicated the hour, but the annual course of the sun through the signs of the Zodiac, the phases of the moon, and the holidays of the year.[11]

It will be remembered that the modern regulations in the schools of physic, were introduced by the emperor, Frederic II. These were followed up and improved by the Angevin princes. Giannone, in speaking of the office of Proto-medico, alludes to a *famous edict* of Joanna's, but mentions nothing from it, except that one Sconditus was Proto-medico in her reign; the son of her own physician, Siston, became a troubadour; a proof that the second of Apollo's trades was still profitable.

[11] "Philip de Mazieres," says, "that it was a sphere of brass and copper; notwithstanding the number of wheels which could scarcely be counted without taking the instrument to pieces, the whole of their movements were governed by a single weight."—*De Sade.* This piece of mechanism took seventeen years to construct.

The hours at this time were marked by fixed points, the *dials revolved.* The pendulum was not applied to time-pieces till the time of Galileo, who, according to Tiraboschi, was certainly the inventor of this improvement. Watches were certainly made at this period; a watch of Robert Bruce, not larger than those now in use, was found in the last reign at Bruce Castle in

This clock was the wonder of the age, but a more simple instrument constructed in the commencement of Joanna's reign, and yet marked with her armorial bearing, to prove it the invention of one of her subjects, was still more worthy of admiration. *The mariner's compass* was at this period first constructed in Europe if not invented, by Gioja Flavio a mathematician of Amalfi in Naples, in its first simplicity consisting of but eight points.[12]

The district of Principato in the kingdom of Naples where Flavio Gioja was born in the year 1300, bears a compass of eight points for its arms in memory of this illustrious man.

Fifeshire; the index was covered with transparent horn instead of glass, the case was a blue enamel with a raised silver pattern. —*Henry's Great Britain.* Spectacles were common at this period.

[12] The Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, is said by some to have brought the idea of this instrument with him from China in the preceding century, and the Arabians are thought to have been acquainted with it as early as the eleventh century; but Flavio is pretty generally acknowledged to have been the first who perceived the application of the magnetic influences to the purposes of navigation.

CHAP. V.

Account of Boccaccio—His early studies—Becomes acquainted with Petrarch, at Naples—His attachment to the Princess Maria, of Sicily—Account of his Theseide, Ninfale Fiesolano, Filocopo, Fiametta, L'Ameto—Deputed to bear the Decree of the Senate of Florence to Petrarch—Analysis and Plan of the Decameron—The Tale of Griselda—Of Friar Cipolla.

AN enumeration of the theologists, jurisconsults, astrologers, and physicians, who mingled with the chivalric barons, and the fair ladies of Joanna's brilliant court, would be productive of little amusement or instruction. They, with the multitude of *the learned obscure,* are by common consent consigned to oblivion, except when an occasional reference to their works is made for the sake of some remarkable event or personage of their own times.

It is the privilege of the greater genius to confer immortality on the lesser. When the poet surpasses his hero he gives vitality to that hero's name, when, on the contrary, the reputation of the subject exceeds the talents of the biographer, the splendour of the theme reflects a never-dying lustre on the otherwise obscure narrator. Thus Ariosto has conferred immortality on Alphonso d'Este, and thus the virtues of St. Louis still attract our regard for his faithful friend and biographer, De Joinville. Rarely is the work found of

which the writer and the subject are of equal eminence, perhaps the instance of Henry IV and the duke De Sully is the only one which can be cited.

Whilst the lawyers, Baldus and Angelus of Perugia, and the theologist, Paris of Puteo, are most frequently mentioned in modern times because they have eulogized Joanna of Naples, she is herself chiefly known to fame as "*the friend of Petrarch and Boccaccio,*" and as long as their names are repeated with admiration, hers will be a subject of interest. The slight mention which has already been made of the latter can convey no adequate idea of the effect his zealous exertions for the promotion of learning produced on the literature of his country, which acknowledges his Decameron as the standard of her prose; some further details of his life, and a brief consideration of his works demand, therefore, a place alike in the history of Joanna, and of the age in which she flourished.

Boccaccio was born at Paris in the year 1313, and was the natural son of a merchant of Florence, who had for some time resided in that capital in pursuit of trade. Brought to Florence in infancy, he there received the rudiments of his education under Giovanni da Strada, the father of Zanobi, the second Laureat of the age.

The abilities of Boccaccio were early displayed; at the age of seven, though wholly ignorant of the laws of versification, he so often

amused his companions by reciting fables in verse of his own composition, that he was familiarly known amongst them by the name of *the poet.* This, though flattering to paternal pride, was so little accordant with the plans of his father, that at ten years old he put a sudden stop to his literary studies, and placed him with a brother merchant to learn book-keeping and arithmetic, wishing him to become neither a scholar nor a poet, but a respectable merchant like himself. Perhaps to this very conduct of his father, Boccaccio owes the magnitude of his literary fame. Forced by paternal authority to quit the closet for the busy haunts of men, and obliged, by the nature of his profession, to mix in various ranks of society, his acute powers were employed in scanning men, not words; and as a merchant's apprentice, he acquired that diversified knowledge of the characters and habits of mankind in general, which appears in every page of his Decameron, which, by its inimitable prose, is thought to have done more to form the language of Italy than the sublime Commedia of Dante, or the graceful and elegant sonnets of Petrarch.[1]

Merchants, at this period, though not in the literal sense *pedlars,* were generally itinerants,

[1] Quest' opera del Boccaccio ancorchè meno grave che la Commedia di Dante, e men polita che il canzoniere del Petrarca, ebbe tuttavia assai maggior peso per fissare e fermare la lingua Italiana.—*Denina Vicende della Litteratura,* libro ii, capo xiii.

and visited in person the places where their gains were made under their own superintendance. In the service of his master, Boccaccio spent six years at Paris, the place of his birth, at the end of which time, he was sent back to his father, as having been, during that period, the subject of useless vexation and unavailing remonstrance and restraint. This restraint and these remonstrances were for some years longer continued as fruitlessly under the paternal roof, till the indulgent, though persevering parent, to inspire his son with a love of commerce by a more enlarged view of the profession, and a more agreeable way of life, sent him to visit the various cities of Italy, and more especially Naples, whose sovereign was about this time governor of Florence.

The result of this last expedient, we have seen in his intimacy with Paul of Perugia, the librarian of king Robert, and his passion for the elder Maria of Sicily, the daughter of that monarch. The accidental sight of the tomb of Virgil defeated all his father's hopes and schemes, and so effectually roused the dormant faculties of his mind, that regardless of every thing else, he continually studied Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Dante. And so incessantly did he read the latter, that the poetry of the Divina Commedia became as it were amalgamated with his growing mind, and in after-life he often unconsciously clothed his own ideas in the expressions of the great Florentine bard.

The father of Boccaccio convinced at last that it was a vain effort to endeavour to repress the natural inclination of his son for literature, permitted him to pursue his studies uncontrolled, on the single condition of his combining with them, the study of the canon law, then the certain road to fame and riches. But the decretals of the church had as little charms for Boccaccio as the ledger of the merchant, and after many fruitless efforts of filial obedience, the hopeless task was given up in despair.

The kingdom of Naples afforded every facility for the indulgence of the natural bias of Boccaccio's mind. In the province of Calabria he studied Greek, where, though much corrupted, it still existed as a living language derived from the colonies of antiquity,[2] and in the capital he acquired it grammatically by the assistance of Paul of Perugia, one of the most learned men of the day, and guardian of the best library in Italy or perhaps in Europe. And if to Petrarch modern Europe was first indebted for the general diffusion of the Latin classics, the zeal and talents of Boccaccio first excited his contemporaries to the preservation and study of the master-pieces of Grecian eloquence and poetry.

To his classical studies he joined the perverted mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, or more properly, astrology, of the day. His master, in

[2] This part of Italy was anciently called Magna Græcia.

the latter science, if such it might be called, was Andalone del Nero;[3] his mind in consequence was not untinctured with superstition. This superstition, which seems scarcely consistent with his constant and successful ridicule of the vices and follies of the ecclesiastics of his own times, at a more advanced age had a serious effect on his understanding, and the melancholy it engendered probably shortened his existence. It must be repeated, that Petrarch was the only man of that age who was wholly superior to a faith in the powers of magic, alchymy, astrology, and mystic visions, and in this exemption from popular credulity, consists his superiority over all his contemporaries.

In these studies Boccaccio had passed eight years at Naples, when the memorable visit of Petrarch to king Robert took place. He was present at his public examination, and was the enraptured auditor of his eloquent exposition of the beauties and the moral importance of the art of poetry. This memorable scene at once exalted his imagination and depressed his confidence in his own powers; he never till that

[3] Andalone del Nero was a Genoese mathematician, famed for his knowledge of astronomy; he travelled much in pursuit of knowledge, and finally settled at Naples. Some of his works are still extant in manuscript—A treatise on the Astrolabe, on the Sphere, on the Equations of the Planets, and an Introduction to Judicial Astrology.

period had seen the Italian poems of Petrarch, and on reading them, in a fit of modesty and spleen, he destroyed all his own previous compositions. Wholly free, however, from envy, he rendered unfeigned homage to the learning and talents of that amiable poet, whom he styled his *master*, not as yet hoping to call the almost worshipped Laureat his friend, and never suspecting that in his own peculiar walk of literature, posterity would place him on a level, not only with Petrarch, but with Dante!

Each member of this illustrious triumvirate has consecrated his writings to the fame of the object of a cherished passion. Of the three, the love of Dante alone can be deemed to have originated in the affections of the heart. With the image of his Beatrice all the happy hours, all the tender recollections of childhood were associated. To these first impressions were superadded the deeply-felt regrets of manhood, when he lost her in the full perfection of her charms and her virtues; dying unmarried, she was, in idea at least, his, and his alone. The tribute he has paid to her memory, partaking of the sacred character of these feelings, and of the elevation of his own genius, is mournful and sublime.

The imagination of Petrarch inflamed, during his residence in Provence, by troubadour manners and troubadour poetry,[4] selected for the ob-

[4] See Appendix No. II.

ject of his devotion a married woman, whose mixed propriety and coquetry alternately fed and restrained his love. His verse was first plaintive, and finally tender, when time gave a graver character to what was at first but a captivation of the fancy.

Boccaccio enjoying without restraint, the society of a witty and beautiful princess, the writings he has consecrated to her are, like their intercourse, in general, spirited and gay, though occasionally diversified by the woes of human life. Whether the conduct of Maria of Sicily was strictly regulated by the laws of virtue and propriety, as they were then understood, it is impossible to determine. The nature of Boccaccio's writings would favour the common supposition that he was more favoured than her rank and conjugal duties should have permitted; and certainly no woman of condition would now desire to be, according to the energetic expression of our English poet, *condemned to fame*, by such a memorial of the depravity of her tastes, if not of her morals, as the *Decameron*, which the writer himself condemned when sobered by age.

During the life of Robert, and the five first unhappy years of Joanna's reign, Boccaccio, with little intermission, continued to reside at Naples, and composed, for the amusement of the court, eight romances of considerable length in prose and verse. Of these the *Theseide* is remarkable

as the first epic poem in any modern language, and for the invention of the *Ottava rima*, so great a favourite with the poetical successors of Boccaccio.[5]

The invasion of the king of Hungary, from before whose stern visage the Muses and the Graces fled alike, drove Boccaccio from Naples. Whilst

[5] The *Theseide* consists of twelve books. The story has been introduced into our language by Chaucer, under the title of the Knight's Tale, modernized by Dryden under that of Palemon and Arcite. The other romances alluded to in the text are, *Filostrato*, a poem, in ten books. The original of the Troilus and Creseida of Chaucer.

La Ninfale Fiesolano, a poem, in one book, on the subject of a not uncommon adventure of a nymph of Diana, who with her lover is changed into a river to escape the wrath of the goddess.

L'Amorosa Visione. In which the poet beholds the triumphs of Wisdom, Love, Glory, Riches and Fortune; the whole an immense acrostic, forming two sonnets and a song, addressed to Maria, in which appear at length *Madama Maria* and Giovanni di Boccaccio da Certaldo.

Filocopo, a romance of chivalry in prose, in nine books, in which ancient and modern manners, paganism and Christianity, are strangely mingled. This was the favourite work of Boccaccio, probably because he wrote it at the request of Maria of Sicily, on crusading adventures he had heard recounted in her presence, according to the custom of the times, when the great were thus amused by their dependants or visitors.

La Fiammetta, a prose romance, in six books, in which Fiammetta (the poetical designation of the Princess Maria) relates the history of her loves with Pamphilius.

L'Urbano, a romance, also in prose. The hero, a natural son of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, is brought up by a

the fair daughters of Sicily threw themselves for protection at the feet of the father of Christendom, their devoted admirer, the companion of their gayest and happiest hours, sought consolation in the bosom of his native Florence. But here the worst evils of life assailed him. He had fled from the horrors of civil war to meet disease and death in their most hideous forms. To divert his mind at this calamitous period he occupied himself in finishing his Decameron, which he had begun at Naples, and which has at once immortalized the memory of his mistress, and the desolation of his native city.

When on the cessation of the plague social order was restored, Boccaccio was chosen to fill the first offices of the magistracy, and was also intrusted with several important embassies. *Men of letters,* as contradistinguished from the *schoolmen,* were now generally chosen for these missions. The unlettered were incapable of fulfilling them, and the *Angelic Seraphic* doctors of the day, accustomed to wrangle in their dusky halls and colleges on unintelligible or absurd questions,

peasant as his own child; after various adventures in the East marries the daughter of the Sultan of Babylon; and returning to Italy, is acknowledged by his father.

L'Ameto, a pastoral, in prose and verse. Seven fair nymphs relate the story of their loves, each concluding with an eclogue in verse; these have been the model of the Italian eclogue, and the style of the work, which has been often imitated, is original with Boccaccio.—*Ginguené, Hist. Litt.*

(not unfrequently appealing in the last resort to the *argumentum ad hominem*) were ill fitted to conduct those delicate negociations where it is often more advisable to evade than to discuss a point, and where conciliating manners are more useful than brilliant talents.

The second jubilee followed close on the great plague, as if the Genius of the *eternal city* had summoned to her presence all the nations of Europe, that she might count the living multitudes that yet owned her sway.[6] Amongst the

[6] From Christmas-day 1349 (on which day the custom of the See of Rome began the new year) till Easter 1350, between a million and twelve hundred thousand strangers visited the expiatory stations at Rome; from Easter to Whitsunday there were never, any one day, less than two hundred thousand pilgrims. Those who kept their stations during the year of the jubilee in the churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran, were promised an entire remission of sins. Such were the extortions of the Romans, that but few of the poorer pilgrims ever repassed the Alps, but perished on the roads, of want. Cardinal Cecano nearly lost his life in a tumult at Rome, endeavouring to protect them from the avaricious cruelty of the citizens, who would not suffer strangers to bring provisions into the city; the dearth almost amounted to famine, and the lower orders, unable to pay the high prices demanded, were nearly starved. The first jubilee was instituted by Boniface the Eighth, in the year 1200. Like almost all the festivals of the Catholic church, it had a Pagan origin, and was derived from the Secular Games of ancient Rome, the Christian Latins continuing to visit the city the first year of each century, as their heathen ancestors had done. Clement reduced the term to fifty years from jubilee to jubilee—Urban VI, to thirty-three,

millions that obeyed the irresistible call, we find the poet, who worshipped her with a devotion as ardent and profound as that which filled the breast of her first-born sons in the brightest of her days of glory. Boccaccio anticipated the arrival of his *Great Master*, as he termed Petrarch, by a copy of Latin verses; went out to meet him on his pilgrimage to Rome at a short distance from Florence, and brought him to his house, where he remained during his stay in that city. Here they formed a friendship which was never tainted by envy, nor disturbed by jealousy.

An equality of rank is one of the first requisites in friendship, which admits not of *protection*, on the one side, nor dependence on the other. "There is no friendship," says Petrarch himself, "with the great," (and he, we might conclude, if any man could, would have affirmed the contrary:) "great disparity of rank and fortune forbid it: poisoned by flatttery they would be adored not loved."[7] And yet, generally speaking, a con-

in memory of the time the Saviour continued on earth—Paul II, "in consideration of the shortness of human life," to only twenty-five years. The benefits of the jubilee were not confined to earth, any soul not doomed to dwell eternally in hell, might in this holy period pass to purgatory. The first jubilee had been distinguished by a miraculous plenty; the greater the number of pilgrims the greater abundance of provisions.

[7] The English law of jury is founded on the law of nature; man is to be judged by his *peers*, because by them only can he be *loved*.

sciousness of perfect equality of *mind* between the parties is as detrimental to friendship as a marked difference of condition. For habitual agreement, a deference must be yielded on one side or other, whether granted to the experience of more mature age, or the superiority of talent; and these considerations may do away the surprise of those who wonder to see the man of genius, and the man of no genius, often the most attached friends. Boccaccio yielded to Petrarch all the advantages of experience and a more established reputation in the world; and the latter, gratified by the reverence of such a disciple, felt none of the jealousy of his reputation he did of that of Dante. He proved himself at all times ready to share with his friend the stores of his mind and the favours of fortune; the latter, however, the proud independence of Boccaccio forbade him to accept, though he on many occasions profited by the wisdom of his counsels. The year after the jubilee he had the high gratification of being deputed to bear to his friend the decree of the senate of Florence, by which Petrarch was restored to those civic rights and privileges, of which his father had been deprived at the period of the exile of Dante. The following year formed an era, not only in the history of Boccaccio, but in the literary history of his country, by the publication of his Decameron, which fixed the standard of Italian prose, and has been the admiration of Italy from that period to this.

"The Decameron," says an eminent critic, "though less serious than the Divina Commedia of Dante, and less polished than the verses of Petrarch, has done much more to fix the Italian language. The writers of the sixteenth century speak of it with an enthusiasm almost religious. But, setting aside whatever may be exaggerated in their encomiums, we cannot avoid confessing, that besides the artifice in the general plan which is astonishing, and which has never been equalled by any other author of tales, whether Italian or foreign, we may see there, as in an immense gallery, the manners and customs of his own times, not only in characters and personages of pure invention, but in a number of historical traits which are touched with the hand of a master."[8]

The Decameron, it is scarcely necessary to say, is a collection of a hundred novels (rarely consisting of as many pages each, as the novels of the Richardson school contain volumes), related in ten days by seven ladies and three young men who retire to the country from Florence during the plague.

The work commences with that eloquent description of this dreadful calamity which has been already noticed in the events of the year 1348. The plan of the *Villeggiatura* is arranged one Tuesday morning in the church of Santa Maria

[8] Ginguené, t. iii. 134.

Novella; this opening trait is characteristic of the manners of the times. The sacred edifices were the general assembling places of the community for various purposes. They were, for instance, as freely used for public lectures of rhetoric or philosophy, as for the divine offices.[9] The ladies had attended the service habited in mourning appropriate to the affliction of the season; when it had *ended*, the three youths sauntered in together, seemingly from pure idleness; this difference is characteristic of the manners of the two sexes, in all ages and countries.[10]

One Wednesday at break of day they repaired to a Villa at Poggio Gherardi, about two miles from Florence, situated on a little hill covered with plants and flowering shrubs, and surrounded with meadows and gardens. The Villa was built, like the palaces of modern Italy, round a large court, "furnished with galleries and wings, and chambers, ornamented with brilliant paintings, and provided with wells of the freshest water, and cellars of the choicest wines."[11] When the gay

[9] Boccaccio delivered his Lectures on the Divina Commedia in the church of St. Laurence at Florence.

[10] The three young men are nearly related to most of the seven ladies; the only one who objects to inviting them to join the party is Neiphile, who loves and is beloved by one of the number; another delicate trait of nature. The eldest of the ladies is twenty-eight, the youngest eighteen; the youngest of the young men twenty-five.

groupe arrived from Florence, " they found the whole swept, the beds made, and all the apartments strewed with rushes and filled with flowers, which were abundant at that season."[12] They agreed to elect in turn one of their number as sovereign of the day, to arrange every thing necessary for the accommodation of the party, and to suggest the amusements which were to diversify their hours. Pampinea, the queen of the first day, as her primary care, settled the household arrangements, allotted two of the female domestics to the culinary department, and two to the superintendance of the ladies' chambers; one of the male attendants was appointed seneschal, charged to provide every thing for the use of the household; a second is named treasurer or chamberlain, and a third has the charge of the private apartments of the three youths of the party.

These arrangements made, the joyous company sauntered through the beautiful gardens at the side of the Villa. " The youths with the fair maidens

[11] The courts were overhung by balconies, with which galleries communicated; behind these were the bed-rooms: the reception and eating-rooms seem to have been on the ground-floor.

[12] This specification of the floors being swept is not so unnecessary as might be supposed. Erasmus attributes the contagious diseases which so often afflicted England in the time of Henry the Eighth to the dirt of the clay floors strewed with rushes, " under which lay unmolested an ancient collection of bear grease, fragments of bones," &c.

Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

Pampinea with the other ladies and the youths discoursing subjects of delight, wreathing garlands of every various flower, and amorously singing as they passed along." [13] At the third hour of the day, counting from sun rise, they returned to the house where, in a ground-floor apartment, they found the tables covered with cloths of snowy whiteness and adorned with vessels of silver, the floor strewed with the flowers of the broom. When water had been served for the hands, they seated themselves at the table, the domestics attending in silence. "The viands were delicate, the wines exquisite, wit and mirth enlivened the festive board, each member imparting to the others the gaiety of heart inspired by the cheerful scene."

When the tables were removed, the servants retired to their repast, the queen ordering instruments of music to be brought in (as if the customary furniture of a house). Dioneus took a lute and Fiammeta a viol, and to their soft music,

[13] The original passage is a charming specimen of the elegance of Boccaccio's style—"Et questi ordini sommariamente dati, li quali da tutti commendati furono, lieta drizzata in piè disse—Qui sono giardini, qui sono pratelli, qui altri luoghi dilettevoli assai, per li quali ciàscuno à suo piacer solazzandosi vada, et come terza suona ciàscun qui sia accioche per lo fresco si mangi. Licentiata adunque della nuova Reina la lieta brigata, li giovani insieme con le belle donne ragionando dilettevoli cose, con lento passo si misero per uno giardino, belle ghirlande di varie frondi facendosi et amorosamente cantando.

led a slow measure; this ended, they sang in turn gay or soothing melodies. The heat of the Italian noon-tide hour becoming oppressive, "the young men retired to their apartments, separated from those of the ladies, and finding their beds well made and their chambers filled with flowers, like the saloon, they disrobed and sought repose. In like manner, each lady retired to her couch."

When the ninth hour had struck, Pampinea summoning her companions, led them to a verdant meadow shaded from the sun and cooled by a gentle breeze, where they all seated themselves in a circle on the grass; "and here, as the sun was high and the heat great, and no sound heard save the cidada [14] on the olive trees," they agreed to remain till sunset, each relating in turn one of the far-famed novels of the Decameron.

The reason assigned for this amusement is of the most refined good breeding—"If," said Pampinea, "we play at chess, or tables, the mind of one of the parties is disturbed without much pleasure to the other, or any gratification to the spectators; but if each narrate in turn, the pleasure of all is promoted at the same moment." This community of amusement is the true spirit of agreeable social intercourse.

When each had related a story, the party separated till supper, the men wandering one way,

[14] A species of grasshopper.

the women another, sauntering sometimes in the shady walks, sometimes amusing themselves like children in crossing the pebbly streams barefoot laying their arms in the clear waters striving to catch with their hands the fish that darted beneath the shallow waters of some small pool or lake.

At supper they re-assembled in the saloon of the palace, and after the repast, danced and sung ballads to the sound of the lute, viol, or bagpipe. When tired of these amusements, lighted torches were brought in, and they retired to their apartments.

The second day passed in a similar manner; in the evening the modest Neiphile was elected queen. When the laurel crown was placed on her brow, "she cast down her eyes as lovely and sparkling as the morning star, her blushing cheek resembling the fresh rose of April when first illumined by the brightness of the rising day." When a little recovered from the confusion occasioned by the murmur of applause her charms excited, she reminded her companions that the following day would be Friday, "a day of peculiar holiness, sacred to prayer and meditation; as this was consecrated to the edification of the soul, so was it customary to devote Saturday to the purification of the body, and a more peculiar attention to the necessary cares of the toilet, and to the especial reverence of the Virgin Mother of

God by prayer and fasting." Neither of these days may be profaned by their usual amusements, and therefore Neiphile proposes that they should separate till Sunday, after High Mass, when they may lawfully resume them.[15]

On Sunday they repair to a villa, proved by the researches of the learned, to have been the Villa Palmieri, in the vicinity of Florence. The palace is described much as the first at Poggio Gherardi, but the description of the gardens is minute and curious. It lay at the side of the palace and was entirely surrounded with walls—intersected in every direction by "broad alleys as straight as an arrow, covered with arches formed

[15] This arrangement is characteristic of Catholic Italy to this day. Our Protestant ideas are shocked at what we deem a profanation of the Sabbath. But we never call to mind that the Roman Catholic church has ordained Friday as a day to be kept holy to the Lord in serious solemnity, and as long as one day in seven is thus observed, it surely matters not which. If it did, we ought strictly to adhere to the original institution of the *Jewish* Sabbath, which observes Saturday in commemoration of the Creation. One part of the Christian world observes Friday, the day before, in memory of the Crucifixion; another Sunday, the day after, in memory of the Resurrection. Where, in the eye of true religion is the difference? In modern Rome, the citadel of the Roman Catholic faith, no assemblies are suffered, no theatres opened on Friday, every one is occupied, or supposed to be occupied, in the serious duties of religion, whilst Sunday is the peculiar day for amusement and rejoicing, after the public worship of the day is over, on the same principle as our merry-makings on Christmas-day.

of the luxuriant vine, which had a great promise of fruit, and being then in bloom, gave out such a delightful odour, mixed with the scent of other flowers, that they thought themselves in the midst of all the spices of the East. The borders of these alleys were filled with white and red roses, and jasmine twisted between the stems of the vines, so that at all hours you could walk under an odoriferous shade unhurt by the beams of the sun. It would be long to tell the arrangement, the variety, and the numbers of the plants of this garden, which abounded in every thing produced by the soil of Italy.[16] Its chief boast was a meadow of the finest grass, so darkly green, that it appeared almost black, but painted with a thousand varieties of flowers, and closed in with cedars, and green and healthy orange-trees, bearing at once the ripened fruit and opening blossom, forming a pleasing shade to the eyes, and giving forth fragrant odours.

[16] The Italians of this period possessed all the best fruits which compose the modern dessert, and from the tale of Saladin and the Florentine merchant, it seems to have been served after meat, in the modern fashion. The art of gardening was constantly and successfully cultivated, every castle or villa having an herbary, a pomarium or orchard, and a kitchen and pleasure garden. Petrarch, in one of his letters, desires a friend to bring with him from Naples, a graft of choice peaches and pears, for his garden at Vaucluse. Ginguené observes, that the processes of husbandry were similar to those followed in Italy at this day, as appears from a work on agriculture, dedicated to Charles II of Naples, by Crescentius.

"In the centre of this meadow was a fountain of white marble, adorned with exquisite sculpture; I know not whether it was filled by a natural spring or by art, but a figure which stood on a column in the centre spouted up, to a great height, as much water as might have turned a mill, which fell again, with a pleasing sound, into the font beneath; that which overflowed the margin was conducted by hidden canals out of the meadow, and was again offered to the sight in small canals, which bordered the whole circuit with their silver streams, and then wandered through every part of the gardens; the whole body of water, at last collected in one spot, fell with impetuous force to the plain beneath, where it rapidly turned two mills, to the no small profit of the lord of the soil.

"The plants, the fountain, the rivulets, and the beautiful arrangement of this garden, so delighted the ladies and the young men, that each affirmed, that if Paradise could be renewed on earth, they knew not what fitter form it could take, or what additional beauty it could possess. As they wandered here and there, delightedly weaving garlands of the branches of the flowery shrubs, or listening to the music of various birds which strove with each other in song, a fresh charm struck them, which, from their earnest attention to the other beauties, they had not yet observed. They now, to their surprise, saw a

hundred varieties of beautiful animals, which they pointed out each to the other with delight. On one side rabbits peeped out from their burrows, there the hare scudded, and here lay the red deer, and the young fawn, peacefully feeding close by."

Each day of the Decameron is passed nearly in the same manner as the first. The party rises at day-break to wander about in the fields and gardens, during the first freshness of the morning. When fatigued, they refresh themselves with confections and wine; at the third hour of the day they assemble at some appointed spot, generally near the borders of the fountain of the Palmieri gardens, or on the margin of the lake in the Ladies' Valley. Carpets are spread on the grass, and the tables arranged for dinner. After the repast, they are for a time amused by music and dancing, always of a slow measure. Some then retire for their siesta, others amuse themselves by reading romances, or playing at chess or tables. When the day is passed in the Ladies' Valley, beds are provided by the seneschal for such as choose to sleep at noon; these are described as having small canopies and curtains of French serge; at the ninth hour they re-assemble and each relates the allotted story; when finished, they disperse to amuse themselves separately; if fatigued with walking, they are again refreshed with wine and confections previously to

supper. Gay conversation and music close the day, and they retire by torch-light to their nightly repose.

The Ladies' Valley, the third scene of the Decameron, is still known by that name; it is about half a mile in compass, and entered by a narrow path at the side of a small rivulet; "its form is nearly as circular as if marked out by compasses, though evidently so formed by nature; the circle is surrounded by seven little hills, each crowned by a palace in the form of a small castle. The sides of those facing the South were covered with vines, olives, almonds, cherries, figs, and other fruit-trees, whilst those to the North were bordered with oaks and ash. The diminutive plain was shaded with beech, cypress, laurels, and pines. The soil, thus guarded from the sun, was covered with the finest herbage, full of flowers of every tint, amongst which the purple hue predominated; from one of the hills, a clear river falling over a rocky bed formed a cascade delightful to the eye and ear; its waters, collected by a canal, filled a small lake, about the size of the fish-ponds which the citizens of Florence usually had in their gardens; the clear and shallow waters showed the pebbly bottom, across which flitted innumerable fish."

Poggio Gherardi, the villa Palmieri, and the Ladies' Valley, are the only scenes described in the Decameron, and are drawn by Boccaccio

from the neighbourhood of a small estate he possessed between Majano and Fiesole. The manners of the *dramatis personæ* are uniformly pure and correct, and no contrast can be greater or more inexplicable than the conduct of the narrators and the style of their narrations. Perhaps this contrast was not unfrequent in the living manners of the day.

Boccaccio was himself, towards the close of his life, ashamed of the licentiousness of the tales of the Decameron; he writes to one of his friends to prevent his giving it to his wife and daughter to read, as he had proposed. To this friend he alleges two excuses, one of which is absurd, and the other cowardly—his youth, though upwards of forty when he published them, and the orders of Maria. However this princess might have suffered such relations in an age when delicacy, either as to facts or expressions, was little regarded in what was addressed to the female ear, surely no woman in any age could have *ordered* a man to write immoral stories for her amusement.

The prevailing fault of the Decameron has been unsparingly attributed to Maria of Sicily; but perhaps its pervading beauty of style, which has procured the pardon of that fault, and the admiration of all ages and countries, may with more justice be in a great measure attributed to her also. We cannot doubt that the elegant prose of

Boccaccio was in a great measure formed by his long-continued association with the accomplished princesses of Naples. Maria was remarkable for the charms of her manners and conversation: the empress of Constantinople shared with her the reputation of wit and vivacity. Joanna, combining the soft and graceful dignity of the Italian with the lively intelligence of the French princess, was the most eloquent woman of her own, or perhaps of any other age, and remarkable for the elegance and facility with which she expressed herself both in the Italian and Provençal languages, the former of which was her native idiom.[15] Boccaccio himself extols her bland eloquence, and the charms of her attractive speech in the intercourse of private life.

However this may be, certain it is that Boccaccio wrote no more in his native language, when no longer under the inspiration of the Neapolitan graces; after having finished the immortal work which he commenced when their influence excited his genius, he devoted his pen to laborious Latin treatises, with the single exception of the life of Dante, and the commentary of the Divina Commedia, required by his lectureship at Florence.

The Decameron seems to have been the last brilliant effort of an expiring flame: in the preface the writer congratulates himself on having survived a passion, now pleasing in recollection,

[15] Maimbourg, Grand Schisme d'Occident.

but formerly intolerable, *not indeed from the unkindness of the beloved object, but from its own intensity.* Of this intensity we may be permitted to doubt; the passion of Boccaccio seems to have been of too cheerful and contented a nature to have been ever much more than a poetic fiction.

The language of this work is as various as its adventures. Its distinguishing characteristic is simplicity, though in some of the tales of comic or romantic adventure, and in the commencement and conclusion of each day, the most finished and fascinating elegance of style is sought and obtained by the writer, whilst in narrations of a tragic description, the naked simplicity of the relation has a pathos of a terrific nature, the narrator seeming only anxious to disburthen his mind of the mournful tale as quickly as possible.[16]

No classical allusions are found in the Decameron, an extraordinary circumstance, considering how much Boccaccio was devoted to the study of ancient literature; it contains not more than three or four comparisons, repeated like the figurative language of a primitive people as a customary form of speech; a fair lady, for example, always blushes like the new-blown rose (a figure which no repetition can deprive of its

[16] The two most remarkable examples of these contrary styles, are perhaps the story of Father Cipolla and the peasants of Certaldo in the comic style, and the hapless loves of Lizabetta and Lorenzo in the tragic.

charm), and pining lovers ever waste away as snow before the sun. Natural objects are described by their physical appearance, not by poetical allusions. The dawn of day is denoted by the heavens changing from vermillion to orange at the approach of the sun, and its decline by the yellow hue of that luminary.

The machinery is as simple as the style; the author but twice avails himself of the agency of magic, and that in a very trifling degree, and but twice introduces supernatural appearances, once in the story known to us in Dryden's verse, under the title of "Theodore and Honoria," and once in the affecting tale of "Lisabetta and Lorenzo."

The concluding novel of the Decameron is remarkable for having, in some shape or other, found its way into every language of Europe, and as having been introduced into our own poetry by Chaucer, who received it at Padua from Petrarch.

Petrarch admired this celebrated tale so much, that he not only translated it into Latin, the then universal language, for the benefit of foreigners, but actually went through the labour of committing it to memory in Italian, that he might not only relate it to his visitors at their social meetings, but repeat it to himself whenever he wanted amusement.[17] The progress of literature and of

[17] Petrarch did not see the Decameron till nearly twenty

the human mind in general, from this period to that of our immortal dramatist, is in nothing more strongly marked, than in mankind being then agreed as to the tediousness of *a twice told*

years after its publication, for Boccaccio never presented it to him, partly because he dreaded his censure of some portions of the work, and partly on account of the contempt with which Petrarch regarded every composition in the vulgar tongue, not even excepting the works of Dante. He thus expresses himself on the subject of the Decameron to its author:—"Having only been able to look over the book, I cannot as yet form a correct judgment of it; but it has given me great pleasure. What may be pronounced too free is sufficiently excused by your age when you wrote it—the frivolity of the subject, and of those who were to read it. Amidst a number of gay and facetious things, we find some grave and pious ones. Like the rest of the world, I have given most attention to the beginning and the end. The description you have given at the commencement of the state of our country during the plague, appears to me faithful and pathetic. The concluding story has made so lively an impression on me, that I have committed it to memory to repeat to my friends."—*De Sade, Mem. Petr.* tom. iii. 796.

Shortly after, he made his Latin translation of Griselda, adding some further traits to her conduct. This translation must have been much more pathetic than the original, or the men of that age must have been wondrously lachrymose. A Paduan friend of Petrarch's attempted to read it out, but after two attempts gave it up, his articulation being impeded by his sobs. A Veronese, put to the same trial, went through it heroically, but when he had ended, made an apology for not having wept, and, thinking to praise the story, in truth pronounced a just and severe criticism on it: "I would have cried too," exclaimed he, "if I had thought it true; but it is clear

tale. Perhaps a modern auditor would find the patience of Griselda insipid even on a first hearing; meekness is her only attribute; she is alike devoid of feminine dignity, and of the fervour of maternal love. The story of this admired novel is simply as follows:—

Walter, marquis of Saluzzo, to free himself from the troublesome importunities of his vassals, who desire to see an heir to his territories, consents to marry, on condition that they shall treat with becoming reverence whomsoever he shall make his wife.

To this they consent with alacrity, and a day is appointed for the nuptials. Magnificent robes, and rings, and girdles, and a rich crown, with all the other customary paraphernalia are provided. On the bridal-day Walter assembles his vassals and kindred, and, telling them it is time to seek the bride, leads them to a neighbouring village, where he alights at the house of a poor peasant.

that it is only fable; there never was, nor ever will be, a woman like Griselda"—[*Ibid.* iii. 197]. This apology seems wholly uncalled for; for we cannot divine what pretext even the softer sex could now avail itself of, to show "fine eyes swimming in tears" at the trials of Griselda. Probably Petrarch's feelings were touched by tracing in her conduct a resemblance to the conjugal meekness of "Madama Laura;" and his judgment biassed contemporary and perhaps succeeding critics. The tale itself is rendered interesting by its associations, and by the innocent weakness of a man of genius, who could be so fascinated by it.

The cottager's daughter, Griselda, with a group of other young girls, runs in haste, from a well where she had been drawing water, to gaze at the bridal of her lord. Walter takes her into the house, and there, in presence of her father, procures her consent to marry him, and her promise to submit to his will in all things without murmur or question. The first proof of her obedience is quickly exacted. Walter takes her out before the door, and presents her to his friends, and there reduces her to a state of nudity, casts aside the garments of her poverty, and arrays her in the splendid robes he had provided for the occasion. The new marchioness fills her exalted station with such grace and virtue, that her wisdom excites as much admiration as her beauty; and disarming envy by her benevolence and affability, she becomes so much beloved, that the vassals who had at first condemned the choice of their prince, now extol him as the most prudent of men.

Griselda becomes twice a mother, and each time, in order to make trial of the perfect obedience she had promised before their union, Walter sends for her child, telling her he is going to put it to death; she takes it out of the cradle, embraces and blesses it, only entreating of the messenger that he will not allow birds or beasts to devour it, *unless his lord especially command it!* and she defends his conduct to the ladies, who condole

with her, and exclaim against his barbarity, with the observation, that a father has a right to dispose of his offspring as he pleases.

At the end of thirteen years, Walter, to make the last trial of her patience, tells her he has obtained a dispensation to marry a fitter partner of his honours, and commands her to leave his house in the same state he received her at her father's door. Griselda complies without a murmur, but as a favour, requests that a single garment may be allowed her in consideration of her fidelity, and the children she has borne him. This favour is granted; bare-headed and bare-footed, she returns to her cottage *en chemise*, where she resumes the garments she had cast off at her father's door, who (provident wight!) had carefully kept them for an occasion he had long anticipated.

Ere long, Walter brings her back to the castle, to prepare it for his intended bride. Griselda superintends all the nuptial preparations, cooks as a menial in the kitchen, arranges the apartments, and finally, at his command, receives the bride in the banqueting-hall. The beauty of the young stranger is angelic, and whilst the ladies pity Griselda, the men whisper, that the marquis has made a good exchange! Walter calls up Griselda, and says, "What think you, Griselda, of our spouse?" These words were a dagger to the heart of the all-enduring matron, who could not divest herself of her love for him, in the same

manner as she had laid aside her costly robes; but, with affecting meekness and tenderness, she replied, "*My lord, if she is as wise as she is fair, I doubt not you will live with her the happiest prince in the world. But as much as I may, I entreat you that those trials it was your pleasure to give to her that was your wife, may not fall to the lot of this new spouse; I scarcely think, from her youth and delicate breeding, she could support them; your first consort was older, and accustomed to unceasing hardship from infancy.*" The tenderness and the delicacy of this petition cannot be surpassed. Griselda seems to lose the sense of her own sufferings, in those she anticipates for her successor, and at the moment she deems herself emancipated from the tyranny of her husband, seeks to spare him a momentary feeling of self-reproach, by telling him she had, from her low station, been born to hardship.

Walter can carry on the deception no longer, but presents the beautiful stranger to Griselda as her daughter, restores her son to her arms, and re-instates her in all her honours.

Some may think the patience of Griselda unnatural, and the resignation with which she submits to degradation, and gives up her children, as beyond the limits of propriety or duty. But in the days of Boccaccio, when the lord was all, and the vassal a nullity, the exaggeration was

not beyond the allowed licence of a novelist. Had he presented to his fair readers a noble dame acting thus, the gross improbability would have revolted every mind, and the tale would have been condemned unanimously. Griselda has by foreign critics been considered the masterpiece of Boccaccio, in the touching style; many will perhaps appeal from this judgment, and prefer the story of the count of Anguersa and his Children, that of Nathan the Generous, or that of Frederic and his Falcon.

In the comic style, the story of Father Cipolla affords a perfect model of gay and good-humoured satire. This good-humoured gaiety is perhaps the essential quality which gives the charm to this species of composition. One single trait of spleen or discontent destroys all the cheerful illusions of fancy, to raise in their place images of human malevolence and misery. Friar Cipolla is described as low and corpulent in person, rubicund and cheerful in visage, fluent and insinuating in speech, the friend, the well-wisher, and the gossip of every person in the places he frequents. In the month of August, he annually visits the village of Certaldo, to wheedle from the simple peasantry of the surrounding country a portion of their newly-reaped harvest for the support of his convent.

One Sunday morning, when all the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlets had assembled at

the church of Certaldo, Cipolla reminds them of their annual contributions to the poor of *the lord baron, St. Anthony,* which procure for their flocks and herds the peculiar protection of the blessed saint, and promises, as a special favour, to show to all the devout who will assemble before the church that day at the ninth hour, a feather of the angel Gabriel's wing, which he dropped in the chamber of the Virgin at the Annunciation.

Among the auditors of Cipolla were two of his friends and jovial companions, who had often laughed at his public exhibitions of relics, and now wishing to see how he would extricate himself from the embarrassment, managed, whilst he dined and slept at the inn of the village, to take the feather out of his casket, and fill it with cinders. The precious relic had been recently drawn from the tale of a parrot, a bird little known in Tuscany, and which had never been heard of at Certaldo.

At the appointed hour the whole country assembled before the church. The unsuspecting friar began his verbose sermon, made his confession, lighted two tapers, put off his hood, opened his vest, took out the casket, blessed it, and after a few words in praise of the angel Gabriel, opened it, and finding it filled with cinders, without the smallest change of countenance, raised his hands to heaven, thanked God, and

closing it again, addressed the multitude. He then related to them a fictitious journey to Jerusalem, which is told with a spirit of elegance and vivacity only equalled by the most finished tales of Voltaire. At Jerusalem the holy patriarch had shown him all his sacred treasury of relics, amongst others, the toupet of the seraphim that appeared to Saint Francis, a nail of a cherubim, some of the garments of the holy catholic faith, a few of the rays of the star which appeared to the magi in the East, a little of the sound of the bells of Solomon's Temple in a vial, that plume of the angelic wing he had already told them of, and a few of the coals with which the blessed martyr, St. Laurence, had been roasted. The benevolent patriarch, in reward of Cipolla's pilgrimage, gave him the sacred feather and cinders at parting. These he placed in separate caskets, lest the holy coals should soil the angelic plume; but the caskets were so alike, that he often mistook the one for the other, as in the present instance, by the express interposition of Providence. The feast of St. Laurence would arrive in two days; the blessed cinders were sent to re-kindle the flame of devotion in their hearts. "To this end, therefore," continued he, "blessed children, reverently uncover your heads, and devoutly behold them; and whosoever shall be marked by them with the sign of the cross, shall be unhurt by fire for one year." As soon as he had sang a hymn in praise

of St. Laurence, the credulous multitude crowded round him to gaze on the casket with stupid wonder, and to have their white shirts, vests, and veils, marked with large black crosses, the friar telling them, the more he used of the cinders, the more they grew in the casket, as he had often proved.

When all was over, the two roguish youths laughed with Cipolla at the trick they had played him, and praising his dexterity, gave him back the parrot's feather, which served him as well the following year.[18]

"We cannot cease to regret that Boccaccio has spoiled so delightful a work by details, which

[18] The idea of this tale was probably suggested to Boccaccio by the following lines of Dante, which furnish a striking example of the different tone of mind of the great poet and his enthusiastic admirer :—

> The preacher now provides himself with store
> Of jests and gibes; and so there be no lack
> Of laughter, while he vents them his big cowl
> Distends, and he has won the meed he sought:
> Could but the vulgar catch a glimpse the while
> Of that dark bird which nestles in his hood,
> They scarce would wait to hear the blessing said
> Which now the dotards hold in such esteem,
> That ev'ry counterfeit who spreads abroad
> The hands of holy promise, finds a throng
> Of credulous fools beneath. Saint Anthony
> Fattens with this his swine, and others worse
> Than swine, who diet at his lazy board,
> Paying with unstamped metal for their fare.
>
> *Cary's Translation.*

forbid it to be put into the hands of youth. But at an age when it is permissible to read every thing, we may peruse the Decameron as a work useful for the study of the language, for the knowledge of the manners of one age, and of man in all ages. Like Moliere, we may learn to represent from it vice, folly, and weakness; we may select subjects of touching tragedies, gay comedies, spirited satires, agreeable and useful relations, eloquent and persuasive discourses; we may, in fine, passing over some places which no longer offer an attraction for those to whom they offer no danger, enjoy a varied, amusing, and attractive work, containing descriptions, narrations, and dialogues, full of originality, spirit, and nature, and distinguished for an elegance of style, which, if we except a few expressions and turns of phrase which have become obsolete, is above all criticism as beyond all praise."[19]

Though it would be the acme of folly and presumption to assert that whole ages and nations have erred in the admiration they have bestowed on this work, yet we do not hesitate to affirm, that the feeling of every moral English mind is disappointment and disgust, on reading the Decameron as it now stands.

The reader who should be obliged to read all the tales, would be but ill repaid by the pleasure

[19] Ginguené.

afforded by some, for the disgust excited by others. Boccaccio was himself aware of this, and in his concluding address to the fair sex, says he has made the argument of each tale declare its subject, so that every one may choose from the variety, what best suits individual taste. A selection, it is true, is thus rendered easy, but in making this selection, so much offensive matter must meet the eye, that to a mind of delicacy, some motive stronger than the mere love of reading, is necessary to overcome the repugnance to the task. But as the good and bad are entirely distinct, and the former certainly the majority, an edition preserving the form of the work in which its charm principally consists, but omitting the exceptionable tales—would be a valuable acquisition to the young student of Italian literature, in every country in Europe.[20]

[20] Two other collections of novels in the style of the Decameron, appeared in this century, one called Il Pecorone; and another, without any specific title, by Sacchetti, founded on circumstances supposed to have happened to remarkable personages, of which the following is an example :—

A young Italian peasant, weary of a laborious life, resolved to follow the more profitable profession of a court buffoon, and in this character repaired to the court of Edward III of England (whom no king, says Sacchetti, exceeded in wisdom and worth). In return for the praises which he bestowed on that monarch on his first entrance into the palace, he received severe chastisement from the hand of Edward himself, who discontinued his game of chess for the purpose; but when, on

the contrary, changing his tone, he condemned his conduct, a magnificent robe was bestowed upon him from the royal wardrobe; whereupon the acute tyro in the art of flattery, said: "If you reward me so bountifully for falsehood, I will rarely tell you the truth."

CHAP. VI.

Continuation of the account of Boccaccio—His Researches for Ancient Manuscripts—He patronizes Leontius Pilatus—Is warned by Ciani, a Carthusian Monk, to reform his Conduct—Petrarch's Letter to him on the occasion—Returns to his Secular Studies, but esteemed as an Ecclesiastic—Invited to Naples by Nicholas Acciajuoli—Retires to Certaldo—Revisits Naples—Is attacked with a serious Malady—Delivers Lectures on Dante, at Florence—Death of Petrarch—Of Boccaccio.

MUCH as the Italian language is said to owe to the Decameron of Boccaccio (waiving the question of its moral tendency), perhaps the literature of his country was more effectually benefitted by his exertions in bringing to light the models of antiquity, than by the production of this admired work; the Divina Commedia of Dante, the Sonnets of Petrarch in poetry, the simple history of Giovanni Villani, and the elegant Letters of St. Catherine of Sienna in prose, would lead us to believe that the language would quickly have assumed its present form, had the Decameron never been written. As it is, the Siennese contend for the palm of literary excellence with the Florentines, on the strength of the ecstatic letters of their celebrated saint, which are still esteemed

amongst the standards of the Italian language, as models of purity and elegance of style, except where her religious zeal makes her apply epithets to those she deems enemies of the church, which pass the limits of saintly meekness or feminine decorum. No circumstance can more forcibly illustrate the union of excellence in literature, laxity of morals, and credulity in religion, which marked Italy in the fourteenth century, than the claims of these rival cities, founded, on one side, on a collection of licentious novels, and on the other, on the ecstatic letters of a heaven-taught saint![1]

The researches of Boccaccio for the recovery of ancient manuscripts were indefatigable, and he expended for the purpose an undue proportion of his scanty patrimony. Those which he could not buy he copied himself, and the number of works he preserved for posterity by manual labour is considerable; for he is supposed to have transcribed more books than the generality of copyists by profession. The destruction of ancient manuscripts at this period was incalculable; the slothful and ignorant monks suffered the rich collections of the monasteries to be destroyed by damp, or eaten by vermin, in granaries or waste buildings, from whence they were never removed

[1] The legend of St. Catherine states, that she dictated to three secretaries at one time with the correctness of Cæsar himself.

except to erase the original contents, to make way for the illuminated missal or superstitious legend; and but for the exertions of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and those whom they excited to the same pursuits, most of the treasures of ancient literature would have been irrecoverably lost.[2]

Boccaccio generously shared with his friends the fruits of his exertions or manual industry. To Petrarch alone he gave a Livy, some of the

[2] "We kiss the old shoes and dirty handkerchiefs of the saints," says Erasmus, "and neglect their books, the more valuable relics; we lock up their shirts and clothes in cabinets adorned with jewels, but as to their writings on which they spent so much pains, and which are still extant for our benefit, we abandon them to mouldiness and vermin. It is not difficult to discover the causes of this conduct. As soon as the manners of princes degenerated into brutish tyranny, and the bishops were intent on acquiring profane dominion instead of teaching the people their duty, the whole pastoral care fell to the share of those who are called friars, or *brethren*, or *religious* men—as if brotherly love, charity, and true religion belonged only to them! Then polite literature began to be disregarded. Greek was neglected, Hebrew still more, eloquence was thrown aside, Latin, by a new accession of barbarisms, was so corrupted that it could scarcely be called a language; history and antiquities were disregarded; learning consisted in certain sophistical quibbles and subtilties, and all science was to be drawn from the collectors of the common-places of philosophy and divinity. These compilers were always dogmatical in proportion to their ignorance; they were glad to have ancient authors disregarded, or gave a helping hand to destroy those books they were not capable of understanding."—*Jortin's Life of Erasmus.* Such was the state which Petrarch and Boccaccio found the learning of their country.

works of Cicero and Varro, and many of the writings of the Fathers. Surprised to find that his friend had no copy of Dante in his library he executed one for him with all that elegance of caligraphy for which he was remarkable, ornamented it with drawings of the first artists, and the customary splendour of illumination in burnished gold and vivid colours.

This manuscript he presented to his friend at Milan, and there first heard some Latin translations of Homer which Petrarch had obtained from Leontius Pilatus, a native of Calabria, who having resided most of his life in Greece, passed himself for a Greek and possessed the most perfect knowledge of the language.

Boccaccio instantly conceived the idea of establishing a Greek professorship at Florence. With his usual rapidity in the execution of his ideas, he set off immediately for Florence, obtained the necessary decree from the Commune with considerable difficulty, and carried it in person to Venice, where he found the Calabrian on the point of embarking for the court of Avignon, but using all his eloquence to change his determination he succeeded in bringing him back to his own house.

He could not have introduced a more disgusting inmate—"His figure was frightful, his face hideous, his hair and beard long, black, and rarely combed—Absorbed in continual meditation, he neglected all the courtesies of society, he

was coarse, ill-bred, devoid of urbanity or propriety. But in compensation he was master of the Greek language and literature. His head was full of Grecian fables and history, though he had but a slight knowledge of Latin. Persuaded that a certain degree of consideration is always granted to a foreigner, he called himself a Greek in Italy, and an Italian in Greece."[3] Such is the unattractive description given of him by Boccaccio, to which Petrarch adds, that he was arrogant, habitually melancholy, silly in his behaviour, and disgusting from his neglect of cleanliness. "I feared," said he, "that he would infect me with his low-spiritedness, which is a malady of the soul as infectious as those of the body."

For two years Boccaccio harboured this disgusting pedant gratuitously in his house, receiving from him daily instruction in Greek literature, and during this time they executed together a Latin translation of both the epic poems of Homer, and of sixteen dialogues of Plato.[4]

[3] Petrarch, quoted by De Sade, Mem. Petrarque.

[4] As Leontius knew very little Latin, Boccaccio rendered his Italian translation of Homer into the language of Virgil. The father of poetry would no doubt often have had some difficulty in recognising his own ideas after this double translation. Leontius, ever restless, at the end of two or three years returned to Constantinople. From thence he wrote to Petrarch, "*a letter as long and dirty as his beard;*" first, to beg an introduction to the emperor of the East, over whom he averred Petrarch had as much influence as over his Western rival, and secondly,

The want of Greek manuscripts was the chief obstacle to the success of the Calabrian's public lectures; but this want the zeal of Boccaccio quickly remedied; he sent even to Greece for the necessary works at his own expense, and all the Greek manuscripts which Tuscany possessed in that and the following century were said to be due to his generosity and zeal.

His love of pleasure, his love of literature, and neglect of his private affairs, reduced Boccaccio to a state of poverty that amounted occasionally to indigence, which he would neither suffer the generosity of his friends to relieve nor would he confine himself to the exercise of any office that would in diminishing his liberty have secured him an independence as to money, but probably have entailed a dependence of another sort more irksome than the privations of poverty.

At a period when he was suffering from the embarrassment of his affairs, an incident occurred which had a serious effect on his intellect, but which produced a salutary change in his conduct.

to intreat him to receive him again in Italy. No notice was taken of these letters, but Leontius, aware that neither Boccaccio nor Petrarch would shut their doors against him, should he appear in person, embarked for Italy. During a violent storm, he ordered himself to be lashed to the mast, which was unfortunately struck with lightning, and he of course destroyed; no one else was hurt on board the ship, which came safe to port. One of the many instances in which death has been accelerated by the means taken to ward it off.

One day when alone in his house at Florence, Joachim Ciani, a Carthusian monk of Sienna, demanded to speak to him in private, and with very little preface told him that he was sent by Father Petronius, a monk of his convent lately deceased, to warn him to change his course of life, and to renounce poetry and profane literature, as otherwise a speedy death and eternal torments awaited him. To establish the credit of his mission, Ciani averred, that Petronius had seen Christ in person, and had read on the sacred visage the past, the present, and the future; a sublime idea if we could pardon the falsehood of the assertion. Though Petronius had never seen Boccaccio, Ciani assured him, that by divine permission all the secrets of his heart were known to him; and told him one in proof, which he thought was confined to his own bosom. What this mysterious circumstance was, has never been divulged, but its unaccountable revelation so terrified Boccaccio, that he immediately reformed his manners, took the ecclesiastical habit, discontinued his literary studies, and would have sold his books, but for the wise remonstrances of Petrarch, who treated the whole affair as a pious fraud. The calm reason and the delicate benevolence of his character cannot be better exemplified than by the following extracts from the letter he wrote to Boccaccio on the occasion.

"To see Jesus Christ with the eyes of the body

is indeed a marvellous thing. But the point is, to ascertain its truth. In all ages men have endeavoured to cover falsehood with the veil of religion, that the sacredness of the Divinity might screen human fraud. How many times has the name of Jesus Christ been used to give authority to imposture. This is all I can say on the subject at present. When the messenger of Father Petronius comes to me I shall judge what faith I must place in what he says.[5] His age, his countenance, his eyes, his dress, his manner of sitting and walking, his common conversation, the design of what he tells me in particular, will all serve to enlighten me.[6]

" Let us now examine what particularly regards yourself. You have been told that you have little time to live, and have been interdicted the study of poetry. Hence result your consternation, and the dark ideas with which your letter is filled, and which have so much affected me that I could not refrain from tears; but on cool reflection I perceive you afflict yourself at what on the contrary should cause you to rejoice.

" If an old man on the brink of the grave should for the first time in his life propose to undertake

[5] Ciani professed to be charged with a mission to Petrarch and many other remarkable persons of France, Italy, Germany and England; he however never submitted himself to the penetrating gaze of the Laureat.

[6] De Sade, Mem. Petrarque.

the study of poetry, we should do right to say to him, 'It is no longer time to think of composition, intrude not on the Muses and Parnassus; that is only becoming in the young. Your memory fails, your imagination is cooled, your senses are grown dull; think of death, which treads on your heels, and prepare yourself for the great journey.'

"But to oblige a man of middle age, who has successfully cultivated letters and the Muses all his life, to renounce them, is to deprive him of the solace of his old age. If this had been exacted from Lactantius, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, would Lactantius have so well unmasked the ridiculous superstitions of paganism? Would St. Augustine have composed his admirable treatise 'De Civitate Dei'? Would St. Jerome have combatted heresy with so much force and success? I know by experience how much human letters contribute to give just ideas, to render a man eloquent, to improve our morals, and what is more, to defend our religion. If it be not permissible to read the pagan writers, who do not speak of Jesus Christ because they did not know him, it is still more reprehensible to read the writings of heretics who oppose his doctrine. And yet this is done with care by the defenders of the faith. It is with letters as with our corporeal aliments: that which invigorates a man of strong stomach, injures one incapable of digesting it—that which benefits a strong mind is poison to a weak one.

"I know that sanctity may be obtained without letters; we have many examples of it: but I also know, that they are not an impediment to holiness, as some would wish to make us believe. There are many paths to heaven, long and short, bright and obscure, high and low. *Ignorance is that taken by the slothful.* Science can produce as many saints as ignorance, and *we must beware of comparing ignorant devotion to enlightened piety.*

"Notwithstanding all I have said to you, if you are still resolved to deprive yourself of your books, I shall feel grateful to you for the preference you have proposed to give me, and though it seems to me that I shall purchase a property which already belongs to me, I will never suffer your books to be dispersed or to fall into bad hands. Though we suffer a bodily separation we think alike. Since I have lost the successor of my studies, he who should have enjoyed the fruits of my labours, I have resolved to bequeath my books to some religious community where we shall both be held in memory.[7] I cannot

[7] Petrarch shortly after made over his books to the republic of Venice. We cannot say *gave*, for the transaction has very much the air of a bargain with the republic to grant him a house rent-free. The palace of the Two Towers, near the church of St. Marc, was assigned to him and his books, and he resided there for some years. Petrarch, like Voltaire, without being avaricious had no small portion of prudence and management in the conduct of his affairs, which rendered him independent of the favour of the great, and respectable in his station. He

affix a price to your books, knowing neither their titles, nor numbers, nor value, and shall therefore abide by that you assign to them yourself, making but one condition to the agreement, that is, that you will come and spend with me the little time we have both to live (as I have always desired, and as you have sometimes promised me); you will then at the same time enjoy your books and mine.

"I know not what you mean by speaking of a debt; to me you owe nothing but friendship, and here again we are quits; for if you have always received, you have always returned; have, therefore, no scruple on that point. With regard to your poverty, of which you complain, I will tell you again what I have told you before. You have done well to reject the riches I wished to procure you, and to prefer poverty with liberty and tranquillity; but you do wrong to be deaf to the voice of a friend who calls you. I cannot enrich you; if I could, you would have been wealthy long since. But I have all that is necessary to two friends who will have but one heart and one house. If what I propose offends you, you do me injustice, and still more if you do not implicitly confide in me.

"Padua, June, 1362."

seems to have been fond of money (though prudently benevolent), but fonder still of his independence. If Boccaccio had imitated him, and sold, under any pretext, the books he gave away, he would not have suffered from the poverty he was latterly reduced to.

This offer was not accepted by Boccaccio; after a vain effort to confine himself to the study of Theology, he returned to his ordinary pursuits; but in the intermediate time he acquired so much reputation as an ecclesiastic, that, when sent on an embassy to the virtuous Urban V, that pontiff publicly declared he received him with as much satisfaction in consideration of his own virtues, as on account of the republic which had sent him; and the bishop of Florence shortly after entrusted him with the administration of a legacy for a religious foundation, from his confidence in his *purity of faith and prudence;* but more probably in truth, from his known honour and disinterestedness, so contrary to the insatiable cupidity of the clergy in general. "Thus by a strange transformation, the author of the *Decameron* rose into consideration as an ornament to the clergy." In a more scrupulous age this might not so easily have occurred, but that life must have been dissolute indeed, which could not stand a comparison with the majority of the dignitaries of the church in that day.

Shortly after Boccaccio had assumed the ecclesiastical habit, he was invited to Naples by Nicholas Acciajuoli, and went to reside with him at a country palace near Amalfi; but they did not long continue in harmony together. Boccaccio could not forget that Acciajuoli had been once his *own familiar friend,* whilst Acciajuoli only re-

bered that he now ranked amongst the princes of the land. Accustomed to the gracious benignity of the accomplished queen of Naples, Boccaccio could ill brook the occasional assumption of haughty airs by the merchant seneschal, whilst the latter, uncertain of the continuance of Joanna's favour after the death of Louis, perhaps felt some degree of jealousy of all those whose society was acceptable to her. At first Acciajuoli received Boccacio well, but soon wishing to get rid of him, lodged him at Amalfi, in a wretched apartment badly furnished, and fed him at a table frequented by the menials of his household, by mule-drivers, cooks, scullions, and lacqueys. The effect he intended was soon produced, and Boccaccio returned to the North of Italy, to console himself by a three months' residence with his best friend for the bad treatment of his earliest associate.

On his return from Padua, he retired to the village of Certaldo, the birth-place of his father, and the scene of some of the happiest days of his infancy. The small house he inhabited is still preserved, where, in frugal retirement, he wrote his Latin works, which were highly esteemed and useful in their generation.[3] Ever after the visit of the Siennese monk, Boccaccio was subject to

[3] Genealogiæ Deorum—A Mythological and Historical work; De Montibus, Sylvis, Fontibus, Lacubus, Fluminibus, Stagnis seu Paludibus, et de diversis nominibus Maris—A Treatise of Geography; De Casibus Virorum et Fœminarum Illustrium; De

fits of occasional despondency. In one of these he received an invitation from the abbot of the Carthusian monastery of St. Stephen in Calabria, who had been his early companion, to repair to him for spiritual comfort and temporal aid. He undertook this long journey in perfect confidence, but if Acciajuoli had treated him scornfully the abbot of St. Stephen abandoned him cruelly. With unaccountable caprice, he shunned his presence, absented himself on his approach, and left him to all the embarrassments consequent on his poverty and distance from home.

The troubles of Tuscany at this period rendered it an unpleasant abode for a peaceful man of letters. Boccaccio, at no great distance of time, again returned to the kingdom of Naples; but instead of trusting as before to his *country friends*, he repaired to the sovereign and the capital. The reception he now met with, completely restored his self-complacency and soothed his wounded feelings. The members of the court vied with each other in demonstrations of attachment and respect, some to honour merit, and some in imitation of the Queen. Joanna wished to attach him to her service for life, and made him the most liberal offers; but after, for a season, enjoying the

Claris Mulieribus, commencing with Eve and ending with Joanna of Sicily, as the most worthy of beginning and ending the work, as the conclusion states.

delights of her brilliant court, his *amor patriæ* led him once more to his beloved Certaldo.

The change of scene was more marked than he had anticipated, for he was here attacked with the first bodily malady he had ever known. Much in the condition which formed the severest of the trials of the patriarch Job, he became for a time disgusting to himself. This malady was followed by a violent fever and delirium, in which his imagination was haunted by those terrific visions of a future state which the Siennese monk had first raised in his mind. The natural strength of his constitution, however, baffled this disorder and restored him to sanity, but his bodily strength was for ever destroyed.

Whilst still in a weak and languid state he was sought by his fellow-citizens to fill a professorship for the elucidation of the Divina Commedia of Dante, which his incessant and zealous commendation had taught them duly to estimate. His admiration of Dante, and his literary ardour, induced him to accept the offer, and on the 13th of October, 1373, he opened his course of lectures in the church of St. Laurence. His commentary extends only to the first seven cantos, and fills two thick volumes. Some critics have accused him of having, like most other commentators, laboured rather to display his own erudition than to elucidate his subject; and condemn him, on the other hand, for sometimes descending to details

which pre-suppose a great degree of ignorance in his audience. But the mixed nature of that audience, consisting of all classes of *commercial Florence,* should be recollected. The very lowest order of the commune felt an interest in the work of their great poet, though far above their comprehension; it was, perhaps, necessary to excite attention by a variety of topics, some calculated to amuse and instruct the ignorant many, others to gratify the intellect, and command the respect, of the learned few. Boccaccio seems to have used the Divina Commedia as a text on which to deliver discourses calculated to enlighten the ignorance of the majority of his fellow citizens, and to reform their vices:—he could surely have no higher end in view?

He had continued these lectures about six months when he had the misfortune to lose his revered master and friend, who died suddenly (18th July, 1374) at Arqua, of a fit of apoplexy.[9]

It is thought that the last letter Petrarch ever wrote was addressed to Boccaccio, inclosing him his Latin translation of the story of Griselda. In his testament he bequeathed him fifty florins of gold to buy a winter habit for his nightly studies, adding that he was ashamed to leave such a trifle

[9] Petrarch was found by his servants in his library bent over a book; as this was a common posture with him, they did not at first perceive that he was dead.

to so great a man.[10] This blow was, as we may suppose, a severe affliction to Boccaccio. The labours required by his lectures proved too much for his enfeebled state of health, and he could not be prevailed on to discontinue them till his strength was too far gone to be benefitted by the relaxation from study. About eighteen months after the death of Petrarch he expired at Certaldo on the 21st Dec. 1375.

These two faithful friends and eminent men, differed as much in their external figure as in the character of their minds.

The figure of Petrarch, in unison with the refined elegance of his mind, was of the most symmetrical proportion, and his face possessed a degree of regular and florid beauty which though saved from effeminacy by its energetic expression was rather appropriate to the female than to the male sex. The combined mixture of superior intelligence in the expression of his countenance, and the beauty of its features and contour, would have af-

[10] In his latter days Petrarch seems to have enjoyed perfect domestic felicity; his daughter, who resembled him strongly in the beauty of her figure and countenance, was a model of filial submission and conjugal fidelity: from the period of her marriage with one of the most amiable, accomplished, and engaging men of the day, she resided with her father and divided his affections with her children. It is not known where she was educated, probably in some religious house. His son, a very worthless character, died at an early age. Boccaccio, like Petrarch, had a natural son and daughter.

forded to the painter an admirable model of that form in which the imagination has clothed beings of a higher order than the human race. The person of Boccaccio, on the contrary, displayed the bolder outline and more manly form. His air was noble, his stature tall and robust, his complexion bright, his face round and full, and his features, though large, were regular and handsome: his conversation was gay, witty, and agreeable; his manners were like his character, frank, kind, and generous, and stamped with the proud independence of his mind.

Thus constituted he won the regard of the great, whilst he commanded their respect, and as his society was generally courted, he, like Petrarch, benefitted the cause of literature as much by his personal intercourse with the higher orders of society as by his writings; the general theme of his conversation being subjects connected with the interests of philosophy and polite literature.

The mind of Dante, on the contrary, feeding on its own remembrances and conceptions, sufficed to itself—solitary and reserved in his habits, he was revered but not loved by his contemporaries, who were too much awed by the silent sage to seek what was rather his bodily presence than what could by any perversion of words be called his society. Consequently during his lifetime he had little influence on society at large.

Petrarch might be compared to the polished

noble of the highest order, the *glass of fashion and the mould of form.* Boccaccio to the more active man of the world, now engaged in its follies, and now giving impulse to its moral energies.

Dante would stand alone in the character of his habits and his genius, but for the proud parallel which England affords in her immortal Milton.

CHAP. VII.

Urban V. removes the Papal See from Avignon to Rome—Joanna visits Urban at Rome—Receives from him the Golden Rose—Her views respecting a Successor—Character of Charles of Durazzo—His Marriage with Margaret, Joanna's youngest niece—Urban returns to Provence and dies—Miracles attributed to him—Joanna acknowledged Queen of Sicily—Story of Camiola Turinga—Rebellion of the Duke of Andria—Siege of Tiani—Flight of Andria—Is reproved by his Uncle Raimond de Baux, and escapes to Provence—Joanna loses Piedmont—Death of Raimond de Baux—Charles of Durazzo refuses his services to Joanna—Joanna marries her fourth husband, Otho of Brunswick.

IN tracing the life of Boccaccio, the political events which marked its concluding years have been passed over unnoticed, to avoid an unpleasant interruption in the narrative, it will therefore now be necessary to retrograde a little in the order of time, to relate some circumstances of peculiar importance in the history of the Queen of Naples and of Italy in general.

At the commencement of the year 1367, Urban V suddenly adopted the resolution of restoring the holy see to Rome. This event, so earnestly desired by the Italians in general, was equally deprecated by the French cardinals who

composed the majority of the Sacred College. Unwilling to exchange their delightful residences on the banks of the Rhone for the melancholy and insalubrious palaces of Rome, they endeavoured by political arguments and the persuasive solicitations of private friendship or domestic affection, to dissuade him from his purpose, and so entirely did the wishes of Urban's immediate relatives who resided in peaceful humility under his roof[1] coincide with their views, that it is said his mother threw herself on the ground before him as he prepared to leave the pontifical palace at Avignon, declaring he must tread on her body ere he should cross the threshold. But Urban sinking the son in the pontiff, ejaculated from Scripture "he shall tread on the asp and the basilisk," and passed on heedless of the earnestness of her adjurations.

After much fruitless opposition the pontifical court embarked at Marseilles, where the galleys had assembled which Urban had demanded from the Genoese, the Venetians, and the queen of Naples, to convey them to Italy. At the moment of weighing anchor the French cardinals uttered the most lamentable cries, and those on board the

[1] The nephew of Urban married the daughter of a merchant, he refused to allow his father to accept a pension from the king of France; but he kept him in the pontifical palace, and at the age of a hundred he bestowed on him a plenary absolution in the moment of death.

same galley with the Pope assembled round his person to vent their rage in the most opprobrious language, exchanging their usual address of Holy Father for terms the most opposite in signification. Undismayed, however, by their clamour, Urban suffered their fury to exhaust itself, and commanding the mariners to proceed on their voyage, they arrived at Genoa after a quick passage, where they found the princes or the ambassadors of the various states of Italy assembled to pay their willing homage to the Pope on his landing.

After a short stay at Genoa, Urban proceeded to the states of the church, when a far different reception justified the predictions of those who had pronounced his return to Italy an unwise measure. He had scarcely entered Viterbo, ere the inhabitants of the town quarrelled with the servants of the cardinals, and flying to arms stunned him, as they passed and repassed his palace gates, with cries of "Down with the church, the people for ever!" At this unexpected sound, the firmness of Urban for the moment forsook him, and he pronounced it an omen of calamities ere long to befal the church. This natural exclamation was, after his death, regarded as a supernatural revelation, for the gift of prophecy was ranked amongst his other miraculous powers when the veneration of the people placed his image on the altars without awaiting the sanction of the church.

Such was the general insubordination, that the peace-loving and pious Urban found it necessary for his security to enter Rome surrounded by military pomp at the head of two thousand men at arms, a circumstance offensive to the feelings of the people, and most inveighed against by those whose mutinous conduct made such a precautionary measure most necessary; he was, however, received, even under these circumstances, "as if he had been God on earth;" but whilst the sanctity of his life and manners, and his sacred office procured him in his spiritual capacity unbounded veneration, in his temporal office as sovereign of Rome and its dependencies, he was opposed and thwarted with the most contumacious disobedience.

Urban had remained nearly a year at Rome, adored as Pope, and little regarded as prince, when the queen of Naples, prompted alike by devotion and political consideration, repaired to that city to render her homage in person, and confer with him on the important subject of the succession to her crown. The recent death of the Duchess of Durazzo who would have succeeded to Joanna by the testament of king Robert, had unhappily left it at her own disposal, for according to the ideas of the age and the custom of the kingdom of Naples, Maria transmitted no rights to her daughters over a crown of which she had never been in possession, and which

passed from one generation to another (especially where females succeeded) by testamentary bequest, and of all the descendants of Charles of Anjou in the male line, lately so numerous and so ambitious, none now remained, except Louis of Hungary and Charles of Durazzo, son of Louis Count of Gravina.

Joanna had taken charge of the education of this young prince and treated him with maternal kindness from the period of his father's death till the expiration of his minority, when, much against her wishes, he accepted the invitation of Louis of Hungary to serve him in his wars with the Venetians. This was the only circumstance which made Joanna hesitate in choosing him as her successor, as she feared hatred still rankled deeply, though secretly, in the breast of the Hungarian monarch, and dreaded the influence he might acquire over the mind of the young Charles.

In the beginning of Lent 1368, she arrived at Rome attended by a splendid train. At a short distance from the city she was met by Peter of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who conducted her under the canopy of state to the gate at which the cardinals, the clergy, and nobility of Rome waited to receive her, and attend her to the steps of St. Peter's church, where the Pope in his pontificals awaited her arrival; and on her approach, as a signal mark of honour, descended some of the steps to meet her. Here, in the presence of as-

sembled thousands, she paid her willing homage, and was then led by the Pontiff to the chapel of the Holy Apostles where the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul were supposed to be entombed.

This was the proudest, and probably the happiest period of Joanna's reign. Her dominions were peaceful and flourishing; and the love of her subjects at home, and the estimation in which she was held abroad, such as the excellence of her government merited. The friendship of Urban even exceeded that which Clement VI had felt for her, and was now demonstrated by every public testimonial of his esteem, which their relative situation enabled him to bestow. At once superstitious and learned, Rome contained innumerable objects to interest her mind and feelings. Her classical tastes formed by Boccaccio and the elect of Petrarch's friends with whom she had associated from the earliest period of her youth, must have led her to behold with intense interest the exquisite remains of Pagan antiquity which had so often formed the theme of their discourse in those delightful hours when, relieved from the cares and ceremonies of royalty, she enjoyed the pleasures of social intercourse, and from the rich abundance of her cultivated mind and natural genius, poured forth that soft and captivating eloquence which so pre-eminently distinguished her. From the monuments of the heroes of ancient Rome, she turned with feelings still more exalted to the

hallowed tombs of the Christian martyrs, adored in common with the wisest of her age, the holy Veronica, the image of the Saviour miraculously painted on the walls of the Lateran church, and visited with devout credulity the scenes of legendary miracles which presented themselves at every step.

On the fourth Sunday in Lent, called *Lætare*, it was customary for the people of Rome to present the Pope with a golden rose at the commencement of mass, which he consecrated and wore in his breast whilst celebrating the holy office. This mystic emblem of the Saviour [2] was then generally given, or sent, to some distinguished prince as a mark of honour. To the surprise of all present, at the conclusion of the usual service, Urban presented this rose to Joanna who was standing near him, for the female sex had hitherto been deemed unworthy of so great an honour.[3] When the Pope retired from the church the cardinals remonstrated with him on this departure from established custom, observing that the consecrated rose had never before been given to a queen, and that the proceeding was doubly irregular as the king of Cyprus was present; but Urban silenced their reproaches by observing that general rules must ever give place to peculiar merit, and asked them, in a manner that admitted of no reply,

[2] See Appendix No. III.

[3] Muratori Annali d'Italie, &c. &c.

who had ever before heard of an Abbot of St. Victoire at Marseilles being Pope?[4]

Actuated by this sentiment, on Easter Sunday he bestowed on Joanna an honour still more distinguished in presenting her with the consecrated sword and hat, the latter entirely covered with an embroidery of pearl. Joanna ever generous and compassionate of the feelings of others, in the midst of her own triumph pitied the mortification of the king of Cyprus, and intreated the Pope's permission to transfer the consecrated sword to him, which she accordingly presented with that exquisite grace and sweet majesty which distinguished all her actions; and doubtless the ingenuity of the eloquent and still beautiful queen found expressions which consoled the royal knight for not having received the sacred weapon immediately from the hand of the father of Christendom.

When the Easter solemnities were ended, Joanna left Rome for her own dominions, but did not return to the capital till towards the commencement of winter, occupying herself in the meantime more especially in framing edicts for the better administration of justice in Provence and Piedmont. On her return to the city of Naples she completed the measures she had concerted with Urban for the settlement of the succession.

[4] Bouche t. ii. 384.

The two elder daughters of the duchess of Durazzo had, during the life of their mother, married foreign princes, and Joanna knew, from her own experience, that to nominate either of them to the throne whilst Charles of Durazzo lived, who was alike distinguished for his civil and military accomplishments, was to bequeath to them and her people an inheritance of civil war and misery, she had therefore procured a dispensation from the Pope to unite him to her youngest niece Margaret, then in her twenty-second year, whom she had brought up in her court as her own daughter, and resolved to appoint them to the succession in case the conduct of Charles on his return to Naples should allay the apprehensions she had formed from his alliance with the king of Hungary.

No guilty projects had as yet sullied the mind of Durazzo, his gratitude for past benefits was still warm, and that lively anticipation of future favours which has too justly been said to be the sum and substance of a courtier's gratitude, had some of the generosity of youth and the joyous confidence of hope, and whatever might have been his secret feelings he was peculiarly formed to win affection and quiet suspicion; his mellow voice, mild speech, deliberate enunciation, measured step, and composed demeanor, appeared to denote gentleness and tranquillity of soul, and effectually concealed the latent cruelty and am-

bition of his nature. Low in stature, but symmetrically formed, his air was noble and his countenance singularly pleasing, his features regular and complexion florid. His manners were gracious to all ranks, and his generosity such as became a prince—especially to men of letters, whose society he courted in emulation of his patroness. History and poetry were his peculiar studies and favourite relaxation amidst the fatigues of a camp, and he understood better than most of his time those favourite points of discussion which were usually debated by the erudite at the conclusion of the social repast. As a soldier he united both courage and conduct, and so great was his personal prowess, that when he first went to Hungary he slew in single combat a knight of gigantic stature whom none other was bold enough to attack; and in memory of this signal achievement, ever after bore, as his crest, the head of an elephant which had been that of the modern Goliath.

The irreproachable conduct of Durazzo unhappily deceived Joanna as to his real character, and finding nothing to counterbalance his various merits, but those vague forebodings of the future, which seemed rather to arise from the ambitious spirit of the age than to be justified by any scrutiny of his actions however minute, in an evil hour for him, for herself, and her people, she bestowed on him the hand of her adopted daughter, and proclaimed her intention of bequeathing her

crown to them and their issue. Soon after the celebration of the nuptials Charles returned to the service of the king of Hungary; cold and ambitious, he, perhaps, already calculated on his support in case of any change in the queen's intentions.

But three years after Joanna had sent her ships to convey the pontifical court to Rome, Urban applied to her for similar assistance to re-conduct it to Avignon; he had found the climate of Rome so detrimental to his health, and the turbulence of the inhabitants so destructive to his peace, that under the pretence of mediating between the kings of France and England, he determined to establish his court once more in Provence. His departure from Rome was not less vehemently opposed by the Italian party, than his journey thither had been by the French. St. Bridget, who was one of the organs of the former faction in the church, demanded a personal audience, and informed him that the Virgin had expressly revealed to her that if he returned to Avignon he should shortly die. The saint hazarded little of the prophetic fame she had acquired by her successful prediction of the death of Nicolas Acciajuoli by this declaration, as Urban's life was evidently hastening to a close; but the Italian clergy probably expected by this pious stratagem to intimidate him into remaining at Rome, where they hoped to conduct the election of his suc-

cessor according to their own wishes. Urban was, however, not to be moved from any resolution he had once adopted, either by menace or entreaty, and treating the pretended revelation with the contempt it merited, returned without delay to Avignon, but unhappily for the peace of Italy lived but a few months after this second transfer of the holy see to that peaceful asylum. At the approach of death he ordered the doors of his palace to be thrown open, that all, without distinction of rank, might behold his last moments as he lay stretched on a wretched bed in his usual garb of the habit of St. Benedict, holding a crucifix in his hand, whilst his last feeble accents indicated sincere penitence and humble resignation.

Though the return of Urban to Avignon had been highly displeasing to the Italians in general, his death was sincerely deplored in Italy, as well as in Provence.

At Bologna, which so soon rose in rebellion against his successor, a mass was said for his soul, at which eight hundred princes and nobles attended in sable habits, and by one of the strange contradictions of the age, this service was scarcely concluded ere he was invoked as a Saint, without awaiting his canonization, which was demanded by the sovereigns of the extremities of Europe, by the queen of Naples, and Waldemar

of Denmark, the father of the Semiramis of the North.

The resuscitation of two young girls at Avignon and the other eighty-two miracles attributed to Urban, which were believed even by the intelligent Petrarch, would meet with little credit in the present day; but an age which could credit the miraculous translation of the Ass of Verona, might easily believe in the repetition of the miracles of Elisha.[6] The sanctity of Urban's life and manners gave rise to these fables, he not only exhibited in his own conduct a model of virtue like Innocent VI, but introduced many salutary reforms in the church which that pontiff had not ability to devise or execute; amongst the wisest of his regulations was the abolition of the asylums which custom had rendered the houses of the cardinals to the greatest criminals.

Though by the death of Urban V Joanna lost her most steady friend, and one powerful enough to protect her from domestic treachery and foreign violence, that event was not immediately productive of any bad consequences to the kingdom of

[6] On avait imaginé à Verone que l'âne qui porta Jesus Christ avait marché sur la mer, et était venu sur les bords de l'Adige par le Golfe de Venise: que Jesus Christ lui avait assigné un pré pour sa pâture, qu'il y avait vécu long temps, et qu'il y était mort. On enferma ses os dans un âne artificiel qui fut deposé dans l'Eglise de Notre Dame des Orgues sous la garde de quatre Chanoines: ces reliques furent portées en procession trois fois l'année avec la plus grande solennité.

Essai sur les Mœurs, t. iv. 194.

Naples, and shortly after the accession of his successor Gregory XI, she succeeded in honourably terminating the contest for the island of Sicily, which had vainly employed the house of Anjou for ninety years. By a treaty conducted on the one part by the bishop of Gravina, Joanna's confessor, and on the other by Ubertin of Corillon, first chaplain of Frederic of Arragon, the latter acknowledged her authority as queen of both Sicilies, whilst she agreed to leave him in peaceable possession of the island on condition of his paying a yearly tribute of three thousand ounces of gold,[7] and furnishing a hundred men at arms and ten galleys for her service whenever she should demand them. It was further stipulated that Frederic should resign the title of king of Sicily and assume that of king of Trinacria, and should take as his queen the princess Maria, daughter of the duke of Andria and Margaret of Taranto, the sister-in-law of Joanna.

The struggle for the independence of the island of Sicily, which now for the first time acknowledged the House of Anjou from the fatal day of the Sicilian Vespers, though little noticed in general history, is well worthy of attention for the constancy and valour with which it was carried on; and the history of one of its first and greatest champions, Ruggiero di Loria, is not perhaps sur-

[7] "Somma veramente pesante," says Muratori.

passed by any in modern times for daring enterprise and chivalrous adventure; and such was the enthusiasm even of women and children in defence of their liberty that it formed the frequent theme of the popular ballads of Italy.[8]

The magnanimity of a lady of Messina, called Camiola Turinga, who flourished in the childhood of Joanna, has procured her a place amongst "The illustrious women" of Boccaccio; and though he has recorded no daring deed of heroism, her history would have furnished an affecting tale to his Decameron had he contrasted her lofty spirit, not less feminine, though more noble, with the passive meekness of his favourite Griselda.

Towards the close of the reign of king Robert, Orlando of Arragon rashly encountering the Neapolitan fleet, was made captive and imprisoned in one of the castles of Naples. His brother Peter king of Sicily refused to ransom him as he had occasioned the loss of the Sicilian armament by his temerity in engaging the Neapolitans contrary to his express commands.

[8] Villani quotes a few lines of one of these.

Deh come gli è gran pietate
Delle donne di Messina,
Veggendole scapigliate
Portare pietre e calcina;
Iddio li dia briga e travaglia,
chi Messina vuole guastare.

The young and handsome prince, unfriended and almost forgotten, remained long in prison, and would have been doomed for life to pine away in hopeless captivity, had not his wretched fate excited the pity of Camiola Turinga, a wealthy lady of Messina distinguished for every feminine grace and virtue. Desirous of procuring his liberty without compromising her fair fame, and perhaps actuated by sentiments still more powerful than compassion, she sent a trusty messenger to his dungeon at Naples, to offer to pay his ransom on condition of his marrying her on his return to Messina. Orlando overjoyed at his unexpected good fortune willingly sent her a contract of marriage; but she had no sooner purchased his liberty than he denied all knowledge of her and treated her with scorn.

The slighted maiden carried her cause before the royal tribunal, and Peter of Arragon convinced of the necessity of governing the Sicilians with justice, as his empire depended solely on the affections of the people, adjudged Orlando to Camiola, as he was in fact, according to the custom of the times and the laws of war, a slave whom she had purchased with her treasure. In consequence of this decree a day was appointed for their marriage; and Orlando, accompanied by a splendid retinue, repaired to the house of Camiola, whom he found decked out in the customary magnificence of silk and jewels. But Ca-

miola, instead of proffering the vows of love and obedience which the haughty prince expected to hear, told him she scorned to degrade herself by an union with one who had debased his royal birth and his knighthood by so foul a breach of faith, and that she could now only bestow on him not her hand, of which he had proved himself unworthy, but the ransom she had paid, which she esteemed a gift worthy a man of mean and sordid soul; herself and her remaining riches she vowed to dedicate to heaven.

No entreaties availed to change her resolution, and Orlando, shunned by his peers as a dishonoured man, too late regretted the bride he had lost, and falling into a profound melancholy, died in obscurity and neglect.

At the period of the Sicilian treaty, Joanna seemed at the summit of prosperity, but a year had scarcely elapsed from that event, when disturbances arose in the kingdom of Naples from the insatiable ambition of the duke of Andria which threatened her with greater danger than any she had been exposed to, from the period of the downfall of the count of Minervino and his brothers. We have seen how this prince obtained his dukedom and the hand of Margaret of Taranto at the time of Joanna's restoration to the throne of Naples. That union, more fortunate than her own with Louis of Taranto, had produced a son and daughter, the latter by her marriage with

Frederic of Arragon, was become queen of the newly-named kingdom of Trinacria, and the former by the testament of his uncle, Philip of Taranto, inherited that important principality. But still unsatisfied with the honours and possessions which he had obtained by the love of Margaret of Taranto, and the favour of her family, Andria sought further aggrandizement, and, in conjunction with his son, endeavoured to possess himself of the lands of the surrounding barons. Under the pretext of rights devolved to them by the testament of the prince of Taranto, he seized on the town of Matera, hitherto enjoyed by the Sanseverineschi.

The Sanseverineschi, though the most powerful family in the kingdom, instead of seeking redress by force of arms, appealed to the well-known justice of the queen. Joanna immediately sent a confidential officer to remonstrate with the duke of Andria in private, on the impropriety of his conduct, and to solicit him not to abuse the respect with which she had always treated him as her relative, offering to settle the matter in dispute, by arbitrators of her own choosing.

The duke treated this ambassador with insolence, and refused to give up Matera or consent to any arbitration. Joanna, unwilling to resort to severity as long as any chance of the success of gentler measures remained, assembled round her all the family of the duke and sent them to him in turn, vainly hoping that reflection might temper

the heat of passion, and that their persuasions would induce him to return to his duty. But all her endeavours to subdue his obstinacy by kindness proving unavailing, she cited him to appear before her to defend his conduct. The duke refused to obey the royal summons, and a day was therefore appointed, to pass sentence on him as a contumacious rebel; as he suffered this day to arrive without having made any overture towards submission, the queen, seated on her throne, and surrounded by her great officers of state, pronounced sentence against him in person.

On this public condemnation, Joanna commanded the Sanseverineschi to occupy not only the lands taken from them, but the fiefs the duke possessed in Apulia, now forfeit to the crown. This they found no difficulty in accomplishing, as he had assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of Naples, in order to force the queen to grant him his own terms. But the firmness of Joanna was equal to her forbearance, and when once a subject had forced her to unsheath the sword of justice, she was not to be terrified into returning it into the scabbard with dishonour. Justly indignant at the ungrateful audacity which had prompted Andria to attack her in her own capital, she determined to destroy his power entirely. Malatacca, captain general of the royal stipendiary forces, soon succeeded, with the aid of the chief nobility, in driving back Andria from

the gates of Naples, and laid siege to Tiani and Sessa, two towns which he had strongly fortified in the neighbourhood.

During the siege of Tiani, the capital suffered severely from the want of provisions, the besieging army consuming the usual supplies from the valley of Benevento, and the roads having become nearly impassable to the peasantry and traders by the depredations of a robber, called Mariotti, at the head of a band of malefactors in the pay of the duke.

Joanna, grieved at the privations of the Neapolitans, went from Piazza to Piazza, and personally soothed and exhorted them to support these sufferings with patience, as necessary to their future well-being, but would not suffer the siege of Tiani to be discontinued to afford a present alleviation.[9]

After the siege of Tiani had lasted for five months, the duke of Andria finding his cause hopeless fled from the town in the night, and left orders with the citizens to capitulate if they could procure the liberty of his duchess, whom he left behind in the castle, but commanded them to yield on no other condition.

The queen, however, would not admit of any but an unconditional surrender, and at the end of thirteen days the Tianese ended the useless contest, by surrendering at discretion, and the

[9] Costanzo.

duchess was immediately conveyed to Naples. Sessa followed the example of Tiani; and Joanna, to defray the expenses of the war, sold the one to the count of Squillici, and the other to the count of Alifi, on whom she also bestowed the forfeited dukedom of Andria; to Malatacca she gave the town of Conza, and bestowed many castles and many honourable privileges on the Sanseverineschi for their able services in the war, but reserved the principality of Taranto to herself as too important a portion of the kingdom to be bestowed on any subject.

On the flight of Andria, the robber Mariotti and his troop retired to the lands of the count of St. Angelo, to take refuge under his protection. But this did not avail them long, for the count seeing the ill success of the duke's resistance to the queen, yielded to the first summons to deliver them up to her officers of justice, and Mariotti was publicly executed at Naples. This alarming rebellion was not yet however finally suppressed. On leaving Tiani, the duke of Andria sought the protection and countenance of his kinsman, Gregory XI, at Avignon; and from his generosity received large sums of money, which, with the subsidies he raised on his patrimony in Provence, he conveyed to Italy, then enjoying the rare blessing of a general peace, but filled with bands of adventurers anxiously desiring to disturb the short-lived tranquillity, by espousing the cause of any leader

whose name might afford them a pretext for appearing in arms.

By a lavish expenditure of money, and by the liberality of his promises, Andria collected a force of thirteen thousand men at arms, with such celerity and secresy, that he arrived at Capua before Joanna had time to make any preparations to oppose him. The whole kingdom was terrified at his unexpected approach, and the ever-timid city of Naples was in the utmost consternation. Joanna, however, assembling her council and the chief of the nobility, *by whom she was as much beloved as revered*, quickly provided for the immediate defence of the capital, and summoned the great barons to her aid,[10] more especially urging the Sanseverineschi to use their utmost exertions in putting down their mutual enemy, as their interest was as much concerned in his defeat as her own.

Andria advanced with his forces as far as Aversa, but halted there, in order to visit his uncle, Raimond de Baux, grand chamberlain of the kingdom, then residing at his Castle of Casa Luce. Raimond de Baux was a man of great weight and authority in the kingdom, by his rank and possessions, and universally revered on account of his age and virtue, and therefore his sanction was anxiously sought by his ambitious nephew. But the moment the rebel duke ap-

[10] Costanzo, vol. ii. 22.

peared in his presence, he sternly reproved his conduct, and commanded him, with all the reverend dignity of age and virtue, to desist from his mad and guilty enterprise, ere he had brought irretrievable ruin and disgrace on the house of de Baux, representing to him, that though the force he had collected was formidable as to numbers, it was of little effective strength from want of discipline; and could not long hope to stand against the queen's troops or the military nobility of the kingdom, by whom he was detested for his violence and insupportable haughtiness. Andria, though he had dared his sovereign in the field, stood abashed in the presence of his venerable relative, and confused and agitated, alleged that he aimed only at the recovery of his estates. Raimond, quickly interrupting him, observed, that his present conduct would for ever deprive him of them, and that his only chance of restoration was, to throw himself entirely on the mercy of the queen, who had recently given a signal proof of her clemency towards another member of their own family,[11] and that, by the intercession of the Pope and his own entire

[11] Joanna had deposed Raimond de Baux, prince of Orange, for injuries done to Catherine de Baux, baroness of Corthazon, and other spoliations and robberies, but restored him to his possessions, at the prayer of his wife, the princess of Geneva, who came in person to Naples to implore her mercy.—*Bouche, Hist. Provence.*

submission, he might yet obtain his pardon from a sovereign ever ready to forgive, and who had so long distinguished him by her favour.

The duke was so intimidated by the representations of his uncle, that he secretly embarked the same night for Provence, leaving his foreign auxiliaries to shift for themselves, but when removed from the salutary counsels of de Baux, his pride overcame his better reason; and instead of seeking a reconciliation with the queen he employed himself only in brooding over schemes of vengeance, and projects of aggrandizement to be founded on her destruction. The mercenaries he had introduced into the kingdom of Naples, finding themselves deluded and deserted, began to pillage the unprotected hamlets; and Joanna, anxious to restore tranquillity to the state, agreed to pay them the sum of seventy thousand florins, on which they retired without further violence. At another period the resolute queen would not have consented to such a compromise; but she was at that moment threatened with the loss of Piedmont, a part of which had fallen into the hands of the duke of Savoy, who had taken advantage of the duke of Andria's rebellion to renew the unprincipled aggression he had made ten years before, in conjunction with the duke of Milan. The restoration of peace to the kingdom of Naples arrested the work of spoliation; but Joanna could never recover the principality of

Piedmont which she lost during the rebellion of Andria.[12]

The power of the church was no longer exerted in her defence: Gregory XI was either neutralized by the representations of the duke of Andria, or the furious attack made on the territories of the church by the Florentines and their confederates rendered his mediation fruitless by bringing his power into contempt.

The death of Raimond de Baux at this conjuncture was sincerely deplored by Joanna, who, finding her difficulties constantly increasing and death gradually diminishing the number of those on whose wisdom and fidelity she could rely for support and counsel, felt the loss of so able an adviser as a real misfortune.

No persuasions could procure the return of Charles of Durazzo, to defend the states he was one day to inherit. By a fatal infatuation for the service of the king of Hungary, Joanna was deprived of the services of this valiant prince whom she had chosen as her successor and champion; her natural defender was thus in fact become the right arm of her deadly though secret foe; the power of the church, which had hitherto been exerted in her defence in every ex-

[12] "Mais quelque effort que cette bonne princess fasse et quelque diligence qu'elle apporte, elle ne pourra pourtant éviter ce malheureux destin de la perte de tous ses états de Piedmont." —*Bouche*, t. ii. 1073.

tremity of difficulty and danger, was now fallen into contempt, and proved insufficient to preserve even the patrimony of St. Peter inviolate; foreign princes had again re-commenced their unjust attacks on her divided states, whilst the machinations of the duke of Andria threatened domestic disturbances. The last of the able counsellors and faithful friends of king Robert had paid the debt of nature, and by an unhappy fatality, she had lost the most valuable of those who had been formed in the early part of her own reign. Thus desolate in her solitary childless splendour, Joanna was reduced to the hard necessity of running the risk of a fourth marriage.

Her choice fell on Otho of Brunswick, a prince of equal years with her own, renowned for wisdom, valour, and moderation, who combined a handsome exterior and noble manners, with the virtues most admirable in the man and the prince.[13] He was much beloved in Italy where he had distinguished himself, first as vicar-general of the emperor, Charles IV, of Bohemia; and more recently, as the guardian of his nephew, the marquis of Monferrat.

On the feast of Pentecost, 1374, Joanna gave

[13] Per nobilta se si eccettuano i Re della schiatta Francese niuno gli andava innanzi, perche discendeva dall' antica e nobillissima linea Estenze Guelfa, di Germania, che aveva prodotti illustri duchi ed un Imperadore. Pochi poi il pareggiavano, nel valore e nella saviezza.—*Muratori Annali d'Italia.*

her hand to this accomplished and amiable prince, on condition that he should not assume the title or prerogatives of royalty. Moderation and fidelity to his engagements distinguished his character, he never sought for more than he had stipulated for; and Joanna bestowed every mark of honour on him, short of the title of king, which she withheld, says Costanzo, to avoid exciting the jealousy of Durazzo; but granted him the forfeited principality of Taranto, which was probably one of the chief motives of her marriage, as she could not, with safety, confide the immediate government of so important a portion of the kingdom to one whose interests were not indissolubly united with hers. Happy had it been for Joanna, had she made choice of this prince at the period of her luckless marriage with James of Arragon, she would not then have been forced into the adoption of Charles of Durazzo, and her ultimate destiny would probably have been far different. Though forty-six years of age at the period of her union with Otho, she is recorded to have preserved an extraordinary appearance of youth and beauty;[14] and his character so strongly resembled her own in its best parts, that the most perfect affection and

[14] "History records, that at fifty as at twenty she was beautiful, affectionate, cheerful, adroit, generous, and commanding; she seemed alike to have anticipated the wisdom of mature age, and to have fixed the grace of youth."—*Gaillard, Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne.*

friendship subsisted between them; their tardy union was therefore a happy one, in all that constitutes domestic felicity in the eve of life, though the force of destiny forbade it to be ultimately fortunate in a worldly point of view. On the day of the celebration of these nuptials, Ambrose Visconti made his escape from Castel Novo, where he had been confined as a state prisoner from the period of his unprovoked attack on Joanna, on the death of James of Arragon.

Margaret of Durazzo could ill conceal the dissatisfaction she felt at the queen's marriage, though the latter, by redoubled kindness in public and private, laboured to do it away, taking every opportunity of repeating her intention of leaving her crown to Charles of Durazzo, as the male heir of Charles of Anjou.[15] The credulous populace, thought they saw in the marriage of Otho and Joanna, the fulfilment of the prediction of Anselmo, the celebrated astrologer of Provence, who, when Joanna was yet an infant, had been consulted as to whom she should marry, and on examining her hand and the lineaments of her forehead, oracularly pronounced: *Joanna maritaberis cum Alio.* This hitherto unintelligible ænigma, was now explained by the initials of her husband's names, in the order marked by Anselmo in the word *Alio.*

[15] Costanzo.

After the marriage of Otho and Joanna, the kingdom of Naples remained some years in peace and security; the convulsions which finally agitated it proceeded from the dissentions in the church, the progress of which it is now time to trace.

CHAP. VIII.

The States of the Church invaded by the Florentines—Bull of Gregory XI against them—St. Catherine of Sienna sent to Avignon to mediate with Gregory—The Papal See restored to Rome—Gregory's death—Ceremonies observed on the demise of a Pope—and on the Election of his Successor—Cabals on the death of Gregory—Machinations of the Archbishop of Bari—Violence of the Roman Populace, who insist upon having an Italian Pope—Danger of the Cardinals in Conclave—Forced Election of the Archbishop of Bari, as Urban VI—His Character.

ABOUT the period of the union of Otho and Joanna, the whole extent of Italy, with the exception of the kingdom of Naples, was the scene of war and tumult, produced by the invasion of the states of the church, by the Florentines and the Visconti.

These ambitious confederates excited Bologna, Perugia, and most of the principal cities of the Papal states, to declare themselves independent; some moved by a desire of change, and some terrified into rebellion by the atrocious cruelty exercised against those who refused to join the bloody standard, inscribed *Libertas.*

Gregory, in the first instance, with the mildness which became his sacred office, and which was

eminent in his character, remonstrated with the Florentines on the injustice of their conduct, and endeavoured to conciliate the revolted cities by offers of pardon and favour.

As this paternal invitation was utterly disregarded, he next summoned the Florentine magistrates to appear before the tribunal of the Apostolic See to defend the conduct of the Commune; but his messengers were maltreated, and a fresh invasion of the lands of the church, accompanied by circumstances of greater enormity than before, was their answer to his mandate.

Gregory now seeing the fruitlessness of forbearance, launched against them the whole force of his spiritual authority. A bull of the 30th of April, 1376, forbade all trade or intercourse with them, declared their subjects absolved from their allegiance, their rights, privileges, and immunities forfeit; their estates real and personal in every part of the world the property of those who should seize them.[1] Princes were forbidden to suffer them in their dominions except as slaves, to which state all good Christians were exhorted to reduce them, and to separate them more effectually from the rest of mankind, their children, to the third generation, were declared incapable of holding any office, civil or ecclesiastic.

However necessary the severity of these cen-

[1] To protect their persons and property the Florentines in England made over both to the king.

sures might have been to the preservation of the temporalities of the church at this juncture, we cannot but feel unmingled astonishment at the superstition of an age that could thus suffer a whole race to be placed beyond the pale of civil and social rights, at the will of an individual. Such were the persecutions the Florentines suffered in consequence of this interdict, that their trade was entirely stopped, and their persons and property were in all parts of Europe seized by the violent and unprincipled.

The obstinacy of those at home was in a short time so far subdued by these evils that they earnestly sought to conciliate the Pope. As they feared one of their own Commune would not be admitted to his presence even if the dangers, which now assailed every Florentine, could be surmounted in the journey to Avignon; they sought the mediation of the celebrated Saint Catherine of Sienna, believed to be in a peculiar manner the elected spouse of Christ.[2]

[2] According to the legend of this Saint, she wore on her finger a ring given to her by the Saviour himself, in token of their nuptials, consisting of a diamond with four pearls; it was, however, invisible to all but herself! "Essendo venuto il tempo di carnivale, e secondo la consuetudine del mondo, essendo tutti quelli di casa in festa e ricreatione, sola Caterina serrata in camera orava al suo sposo che li attendesse la promessa fatta. Et ecco venire il dolce Giesù e con esso la intemerata madre sua, Santissima Regina de' cieli, Maria vergine, San Giovanni Evangelista, San Paolo Apostolo, San Dome-

This extraordinary ambassadress was received at Avignon with distinguished honours, and Gregory, who only desired an honourable peace, invested her with unlimited powers to conclude it as she thought fit, recommending only the honour of the church.

When the sacred plenipotentiary, however, returned to Sienna, the fickle populace, exasperated at her as the object of the pontifical favour, and forgetting her character as their own delegate, rose against her, and would have put her to death, had she not timely effected her escape, by the aid of a miracle as it was thought.

nico, David Profeta santo, con il suo salterio, il quale le disse queste parole: Figliuola io son a te per eseguire la promessa. E dette queste parole, *sonando David suavemente il suo Salterio*, la sacratissima Vergine madre d'Iddio prese la man destra di Caterina e distendendola verso Giesù lo pregò che si degnasse di sposare questa Verginella in fede come li haveva promesso, per il che il Salvatore molto volontieri cavò fuori un bello anello, nel quale era legato un diamante con quattro Margarite, e lo pose nel dito annnulare della man dritta di Caterina, dicendo: Ecco figliuola mia ch'io ti sposo in fede, e sarai conservata illesa infino a tanto che faremo le nostre nozze in cielo," &c. . . . Questo anello sempre era in dito di Caterina, e benche altri che lei, non lo vedesse, continuamente essa lo vedeva."

To confirm the faith of her confessor Raimond of Capua, he relates that Catherine was on one occasion transformed into the figure of Christ, and appeared as a man, with a beard on her chin, on his exclamation of terror she resumed her own figure!

This circumstance did not, however, disgust the Saint with political intrigues, and from this period till her death, she continued to influence the affairs of Italy, though she failed in her first undertaking of procuring peace between the Florentines and the Pope.

The mediation of the neutral states of Italy was more successful. The influence of the Genoese, the queen of Naples, and the personal exertions of Otho of Brunswick, who, at this period, was engaged in defending the marquis of Monferrat against the aggressions of the Visconti, procured a temporary cessation of hostilities.

During this truce, Saint Catherine was a second time sent to Avignon by the Florentines and their confederates, who promised submission if the Pope would restore the Holy See to Rome, but indirectly threatened to throw off his authority if he did not.

In furtherance of this object, Saint Catherine pleaded an express revelation from heaven, St. Bridget sent the Pope a series of letters, dictated, as she said, by an angel; and the Infanto, Peter of Arragon, whose sanctity was not less remarkable, added vision to vision, and joined these two enthusiasts or impostors in the same pious fraud.

From the declaration of Gregory on his deathbed, it appears, however incredible we may deem it, that he was really deceived by these fanatics, and that it was in consequence of their impor-

tunity, rather than in obedience to the dictates of his own judgment, that he at last resolved to return to Rome.

Like Urban V, he was received in the Capital "*as if he had been God on earth*;" but, like Urban, he found himself deceived in all his expectations; harassed by an insolent aristocracy and a mutinous people, by external war and internal sedition; and at the end of one year he resolved to return, as his predecessor had done, to Avignon, as much for the future good of the church as for the comfort of his own declining years.

Finding that he himself possessed but a shadow of authority at Rome, for the bannerets or conservators of the city had not fulfilled their promise of resigning their power into his hands, he foresaw that the Romans, in case of his demise, would not suffer the cardinals to elect a foreign Pope, whilst he was aware that the French cardinals would not appoint an Italian, and would protest against the illegality of the election of whomsoever the violence of the populace might force them to nominate.

When, however, he was on the eve of his departure for Avignon, his unexpected death rendered his repentance unavailing, and his foresight useless. In his last moments, taking the eucharist in his hands to give the greater solemnity to his admonitions, he warned all around him to

give no credit to visions and revelations, declaring that he had been fatally deceived, and that only the miraculous interposition of heaven could save the church from the evils which he foresaw would arise on his death.

All that this virtuous pontiff had dreaded occurred; but to enable the reader to judge of the illegality of the election of his successor, it will be necessary to state the forms prescribed for the canonical election of a Pope, which have remained nearly unaltered from the eleventh century to the present day.[3]

Immediately on the demise of a Pope, the cardinal Camerlengo or chamberlain, assembles the Papal guard and goes to the apartments where the conclave is to be held, to proclaim his death, on which the other cardinals retire from the pontifical palace. This officer, in the interregnum, exercises the authority of regent. Short as is the space allowed for his rule, a peculiar coin is struck bearing his arms, with a key on the reverse, in which all salaries due on civil or religious offices are paid. All who hold Papal seals bring them to him, and *the fisherman's ring*, with which the Pope seals every important document, is broken in minute pieces, and the fragments distributed amongst the car-

[3] This account is principally taken from a treatise on the ceremonies of the court of Rome, printed at Frankfort, by Frederic Braun, 1711.

dinals, the senator, and the conservators of Rome. When this ceremony is performed, the cardinals are invited to meet in conclave "*to fill the vacant appointment.*"

The day fixed for this purpose is never sooner than ten days after this period, to allow time for the absent cardinals to attend the conclave, as no proxies are permitted.[4] During this interval, in token of their high authority, they wear rochets of violet and red; the immediate officers of the Pope wear violet only, as mourning.

The body of the deceased is in the mean time taken down a secret staircase, to the chapel where he held his private service. Here the penitentiaries of St. Peter attend to array the body in the appropriate vestments, over which a large silver cross is laid; the mitre is placed on the head, and the pontifical slippers on the feet, beside which are laid two cardinals hats; twelve burning tapers are placed around the corpse, in allusion to the number of the apostles whose au thority the frail mortal whose palid features show so ghastly beneath their light, is supposed to have possessed.

The relations are then admitted, who, if they choose, embalm the body; after which a *solemn service is said for his soul.* The Roman Catholic Church, it must be observed, has carefully dis-

[4] No absent cardinal can now be elected, nor any ecclesiastic who is not a member of the Sacred College.

tinguished between the man and the Pope. It is only as head of the universal church represented by a general council, that he is deemed infallible, his divine inspiration confers no benefit in his individual capacity, either as to his actions or doctrinal opinions; he has his confessor when living, and is prayed out of purgatory when dead, like other men. Clement VI, in his last illness, issued a constitution retracting whatever he might have advanced contrary to the Catholic doctrine, or to good morals, either in disputing, preaching, or teaching, whether before or after his promotion to the Apostolic see; and Urban V, on his death-bed declared he had never *knowingly* departed from the doctrines of the church. "No Catholic divine, however attached to papal prerogative," says Eustace, "ever conceived an idea so absurd as that of ascribing infallibility to the *person* of the Pontiff."

Soon after the first expiatory service has been performed, the canons of St. Peter carry the body in state to that church, attended by the cardinals and clergy in general, and preceded by the customary splendour of torches and silver crosses of immense size. In this church it lies in state for three days, and must be entombed there for one year, after which the relations may remove it at pleasure.

As soon as the death of the Pope has been officially notified to the Senator of Rome, he retires

to the Capital and sends mourning drums through the streets. In token of his authority all the prisons are thrown open, and the prisoners set at liberty. Each house is obliged to display a burning lamp in one of its windows during the whole of the night. The conservator of each parish holds a wake, and accompanied by one member of every family frequently goes the rounds of his district. It is true that these numerous public assemblages of people, and the general illumination give rather an appearance of rejoicing than of mourning to the city; but both are necessary for the preservation of the lives and property of the inhabitants; for the prisons being thrown open, the government suspended, and the new Pope on his accession obliged by custom to issue a general pardon, outrages of every kind would be committed with impunity, unless prevented by individual watchfulness and exertion.

On the day appointed by the Camerlengo, the cardinals meet in *Conclave,* so called from their being shut up in some appointed building (one of the halls of the Vatican is now always used for this purpose) where they remain till two-thirds of the number concur in the election of a Pope. They choose their own guard, who take oath never to permit their egress till the election is made. The doors are locked, the windows built up, whilst the civil, military, and religious authorities guard all the avenues to the palace.

Temporary apartments are fitted up for the cardinals in one common hall or gallery, divided by partitions, covered with purple cloth; and the entrance is kept by the master of the ceremonies, who examines every thing that is brought for their accommodation to prevent the transmission of letters.

The constitution of Clement VI allowed the cardinals in Conclave two servants each,[5] one dish of fish or flesh at dinner, one at supper, and bread, wine, fruit, and sweetmeats, as long as the conclave lasted; the luxury of curtains to their beds, and a partition to separate their apartments. The constitution of Gregory X had forbidden any comforts of this kind, allowed but one servant, and imposed many harsh restrictions as to food when the election exceeded three days.

After the mass of the Holy Spirit has been said, the cardinals take their places on benches covered with purple cloth in the chapel; a table covered in the same manner is placed before the altar, on the right of which sits the first cardinal bishop, on the left the first cardinal deacon; a chalice and a patina is placed on the table before them.

Each cardinal writes his name on a scroll folded in five columns. On the first the conclavist writes "*Ego eligo in summum pontificem reveren-*

[5] At present four servants, called Conclavists, are allowed to each cardinal, and we may suppose other indulgences in proportion.

dissimum Dominum meum Cardinalem ——. On this fold two others are doubled down and sealed with a private seal. The cardinal writes his own name on the fourth fold, and covers it with the fifth. Each in order approaches the table, with his scroll in his hand, kneels, repeats, or is supposed to repeat, a short prayer, and rising, places the paper in the chalice. When all have resumed their seats, the cardinal bishop places the patina on the altar, and taking out the scrolls one by one, gives them to the cardinal deacon to read, the others entering the names of the elected in their books; when the reading is finished, the master of the ceremonies comes instantly in with a chafing-dish and burns the scrolls, that the names of the voters may never be known.

When after two or three trials, no one man is so fortunate as to unite two-thirds of the votes, the election is settled by compromise, in various ways, such as appointing three or five members of the conclave to choose for the whole, and amongst other expedients to come to a conclusion, a pope, it is said, has sometimes been chosen *by inch of candle.*

When a sufficient number of votes are in any way obtained by one man, the cardinal bishop approaches the fortunate candidate, saying to him, *Acceptasne electionem de te factam in summum pontificem?* If willing, he replies *accepto.* For the papacy has, though rarely, been refused.

He is then attired in the papal robes and shoes, presented with the golden cross, and seated *on* the altar; where the cardinals pay their adoration, and kiss his hands and feet, after which he embraces each in return. The cardinal Camerlengo puts the fisherman's ring on his finger, and asks him, how he will be styled in future. The new Pope then tells the name he chooses, for it is reckoned ill-omened for a pope to retain his original name, as the few that have ever done so have died immediately.[6]

The cardinal deacon then goes to the window, which is now broken open, holds out the golden cross to the expecting crowd, and proclaims the new Pope in the following words:—Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum: habemus Papam Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Dominum —— qui sibi nomen elegit ————. The centinels of St. Angelo's tower watch for the appearance of the great golden cross at the window, and immediately the event is announced by bells and

[6] A custom somewhat similar prevails in religious houses. A nun when professed takes the name of some saint, whose festival is a day of indulgence to her in future; a small tablet in her cell declares that N. or M. is now called in religion Sister Mary, or Agnes, &c. We suppose a similar custom prevails in convents of men, which would account for the puzzle of St. Francis being called Francis though baptized *John*. This customary appellation has been accounted for by his knowledge of the French language, &c.

drums and trumpets, and in our days by discharges of cannon.

The Pope is immediately carried on a chair borne on men's shoulders to St. Peter's church. The cardinals and all the clergy accompany him in solemn procession chaunting *Te Deum;* crosses and tapers are carried before him, and all who are in sight kneel as he passes. At St. Peter's he is enthroned *on* the altar and again receives the adoration of the Cardinals.[7]

Whatever meaning the enlightened Catholic of our times may attach to the word Adoration in this ceremony, we can scarcely doubt that in the middle ages it was taken by the multitude in its

[7] Protestant writers have not felt the full force of this ceremony, they say *at* the altar, instead of *on* the altar. Eustace thus speaks of it. "The next ceremony to which I allude, is called the Adoration of the Pope. It takes place almost immediately after his election, when he is placed in a chair on the altar of the Sixtine chapel, and there receives the homage of the cardinals; this ceremony is again repeated on the high altar of St. Peter's. Now in this piece of pageantry I object not to the word Adoration; no one, who knows Latin, or reflects upon the sense which it bears on this and a thousand other occasions, will cavil at it, though he may wish it otherwise applied. Nor do I find fault with the throne: he, who is at the same time both pontiff and prince, has from time and custom perhaps a double title to such a distinction. But why should the altar be made his footstool? The altar, the *beauty of holiness*, the throne of the *victim lamb*, the *mercy seat* of the temple of Christianity, why should the altar be converted into the footstool of a mortal?"

Appendix to Eustace's Classical Tour.

fullest signification. At this period the whole of the Christian religion was turned into a sort of pageant, and the popes as certainly intended (if we may be pardoned so bold an expression) to *represent* the Deity in religious solemnities, as a viceroy does his sovereign at a levee or drawing-room.[8]

After the Pope has been enthroned at St. Peter's, he remains in the Vatican incognito till after his coronation, which is celebrated in that church also with peculiar magnificence. After he has heard a part of the morning service he is robed in

[8] No stronger proof of this assertion need be required than the following passage from Fleury, "Mœurs Chretiennes."

"The bishop seated on his throne, which was at the lower end of the Basilic, was the point of view which terminated the prospect of the assembly. Each pastor was also the *visible image of God*, and, as St. Paul says, the model of his flock, as Jesus Christ was of his. The priests were seated at his right and left hand round the semi-circle of the arch. Thus the church closely resembled the image of Paradise which St. John draws in the Apocalypse. The bishop on his throne, a book in his hand as the fathers are drawn, filled the place of that human figure under which *God appeared*. The priests were that august senate marked out by the four-and-twenty elders. The deacons and the other officiators were the angels always ready to serve and to execute the orders of God. Before the throne of the bishop were the seven candlesticks, the altar where incense was burned (the symbol of prayer), and the lamb without spot, though under a borrowed form. The company of the faithful, who filled the rest of the Basilic, represented the multitude of the blessed, who, robed in white with palms in their hands, loudly chaunted the praises of God."

the papal vestments, which do not differ from those of any other bishop in pontificals, except the stole, and the colour, which is white, not purple; and he is then led to the altar to celebrate his first mass. The master of the ceremonies precedes him with a gilt reed, having a small quantity of flax at the end; and setting fire to it with the lighted taper he carries in his right hand, he kneels before the Pope, saying *Sancte Pater, sic transit gloria mundi.* After the mass two cardinals place the triple crown on his head, which is only worn on occasions of peculiar solemnity. The ceremonies of the consecration and coronation occupy a whole day.

The procession to take possession of the Lateran see is still more splendid than that which attends the Pope to St. Peter's [9] On entering the Lateran

[9] A constitution of Gregory XI, in 1372, declared St. John Lateran the See of the Roman Pontiff, and the first church in the world. This church was built by the emperor Constantine in the precincts of his own palace; and his semi-pagan devotion filled it with images of gold and silver: "he presented to this church a tabernacle of silver of two thousand and twenty-five pounds weight, having in front an image of the Saviour seated in a chair five feet high, weighing a hundred and twenty pounds, and the twelve apostles weighing ninety pounds, with crowns of very pure silver. At the back was another image of the Saviour five feet high weighing a hundred and forty pounds, and four angels of silver five feet high, each a hundred and fifteen pounds weight, ornamented with precious stones—four circles of very pure gold, carrying candlesticks, ornamented with twenty dolphins, each fifteen pounds—seven altars of silver, each two

he receives certain insignia of his holy office and is then conducted to the papal chair by the canons and prior, three of the cardinals raise him from his seat and chaunt, "*He raiseth the poor up out of the dust, that he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people.*[10]

hundred pounds—seven patinas of gold, each thirty pounds—forty chalices of gold, one pound weight each—five hundred chalices of silver, each two pounds weight—forty-five chandeliers of silver, thirty pounds each—a hundred and fifteen, twenty pounds each—many vases of silver and gold.

"In the baptistery the bath of porphyry lined with silver to the amount of three thousand and eight pounds—a lamp of gold thirty pounds, where was consumed two hundred pounds weight of balm—a lamb of gold pouring out thirty-eight pounds weight of water—a Saviour of very pure silver, five feet high, weighing seventy pounds. On the left, an image of St. John the Baptist of silver, one hundred pounds weight—seven stags of silver, pouring out water, eight hundred pounds weight each—a censor of the purest gold ten pounds weight, ornamented with forty precious stones; besides all these gifts he endowed this church with an immense revenue in lands and houses in various parts of the world." To the church of St. Peter's at Rome he gave "property at Tarsus in Cilicia, at Alexandria, and throughout Egypt. It had even lands in the province of the Euphrates, and a part of these lands was obliged to furnish a certain quantity of oil of nard (lavender), of bark, of gum storax, of cinnamon, saffron, and other precious drugs for the incense." Constantine built seven other churches at Rome, one at Ostia, one at Albano, one at Capua, and one at Naples, where now stands the cathedral built by Charles of Anjou.—*Fleury, Mœurs Chretiennes.*

[10] This might literally enough have been said of Benedict XII, who was the son of a baker.

From the age of St. Leo till the fourteenth century, and from that period till the present day, the ceremonies of the church of Rome have changed but little. The religious orders and prelates still wear what was the common habit at the period of their institution, and so far the horror of innovation is innocuous. But what was at the same period the vulgar tongue is still used in the sacred ritual, which is thus rendered unintelligible and uninstructive to the majority in modern times. The inflexible constancy of the Romish church has produced this important departure from the spirit of religious worship, whilst its outward form remains the same.

We now hear that *the word slayeth,* and many such texts in support of this practice, but like most other human institutions, it seems rather to have grown out of custom than to have been devised by the wit or wickedness of man.

At the death of Gregory XI. the Sacred College had, for nearly three centuries, enjoyed the privilege of electing the Pope, uncontrolled by the Roman people, the emperor, or the rest of the clerical body. Two circumstances were necessary to make an election valid. That it should be made in conclave, uninfluenced by external violence, and that two-thirds of the votes should be united in favour of one individual. Pope Gregory, however, a few days before his death, foreseeing the difficulties of the election, promulgated a bull

which required only a plurality of voices, for the emergency of that occasion, and empowered the cardinals to conduct the election in whatever place they might find convenient for the purpose.

The Sacred College at this time consisted of but twenty-three cardinals, eighteen of whom were French, four Italians, and one a Spaniard. Seven of the French were absent, six having voluntarily remained at Avignon, and the seventh being employed in the Florentine legation. The sixteen cardinals at Rome were divided into three parties. The Italians resolved, if possible, to have a pope of their own nation; the others desired a foreign pontiff, but of these, seven were of one province of France, which had successively given four popes to the church and were determined on giving a fifth; the other French cardinals and the Spaniard were, however, equally resolved on their exclusion, and therefore joined the Italians in excluding a Limousin, but could not agree with them in any thing else.

But whilst these cabals were going on in their own palaces, previous to entering the conclave, circumstances occurred which made them firmly unite in one common cause as one common danger threatened them all.

Rome was at this period governed by a species of aristocracy composed of a supreme magistrate, called The Senator, and twelve chiefs of divisions called Bannerets. On the last illness of Gregory this council assembled, and, assisted

by all the Italian clergy they could collect, held secret consultations on the best means of forcing the Sacred College to elect an Italian Pope, who would be less likely to transfer the residence of the Holy See to Avignon than a foreigner.

In these deliberations Bartholomew Prignano archbishop of Bari, in the kingdom of Naples, afterwards Urban VI, acted a principal part, foreseeing the probability of procuring the Tiara for himself amidst the contentions of the cardinals; for which purpose he concurred with the others in the resolution to constrain the Sacred College, by violence, to elect an Italian Pope, if gentle means should not succeed.

Had the cardinals providently retired from Rome in the last moments of Gregory XI, these machinations would have proved fruitless; but each distrusting the other, feared by withdrawing from the scene of action, to throw additional power into the hands of his rivals; and when, after the Pope's death, they consented to this measure as necessary to their security, they found flight impossible, as the gates, bridges, and banks of the river were guarded by the municipal authorities.

During the interval which elapsed between the demise of Gregory and the day appointed for the conclave, the Bannerets waited on the cardinals in a body, and in a premeditated speech informed them that the people of Rome were resolved to have an Italian Pope, and that they would not

answer for the consequences of their violence if they were not gratified, and therefore came to exact a promise that an Italian should be elected in conclave, as otherwise they would not undertake to protect the persons of the cardinals.

Whatever hopes the Italian cardinals might have entertained from this deputation, they joined unanimously with the others in resisting this breach of privilege, and firmly refused to make any promises previous to entering conclave, protesting that if any violence were used towards them during the election, whomsoever the emergency of the moment might induce them to name would immediately after be degraded as an intruder.

The threats of the popular party were reiterated day after day, and to ensure their execution the nobility were banished from the city; all the malefactors let loose from the prisons were formed into bands with other ruffians, and a peculiarly ferocious and semi-barbarous race called Montagnars were introduced from the neighbouring country, who, running to and fro like so many furies, insulted the cardinals and their domestics, and threatened to murder them all if they did not comply with the wishes of the people.

When the cardinals assembled at the Vatican to enter conclave, they were surrounded by the crowd, thus constituted, who cried out as if with one voice, "We will have an Italian Pope! we will have

one! if not, we know how to do ourselves justice!" A company of these wretches was forced upon the cardinals as guards, thus infringing their most important privilege of choosing their own defenders to protect them from external violence. They could scarcely obtain entrance into the conclave on account of the crowd which forced itself with them into the Vatican; and when at night it was necessary to close the gates, a large body of miscreants kept possession of the apartments, surrounding the temporary cells, from whence they unceasingly tormented the cardinals with frightful yells, telling them from time to time that they would make their heads redder than their hats if they did not comply with their wishes; "which," says Froissart, "astonished the cardinals much, as they preferred being confessors to martyrs."

As every remarkable event in this age was supposed to be marked out by preternatural omens, the tremendous tempest which accompanied this tumult was deemed portentous of the storms which were doomed to agitate the church for the space of more than half a century; the cells of two of the cardinals, who afterwards ranked amongst the schismatic popes, were struck with lightning; and by the same stroke, the arms of the late pontiff were shattered, a token it was thought, of the approaching division of the church.

Between the raging of the skies and the fury of a ferocious people, it must be confessed the

situation of the cardinals was sufficiently awful to those of the number whom declining years rendered timid, and who were at the same time hopeless of influencing the decision of their junior colleagues.

As soon as the Bannerets were informed that the cardinals had retired to their cells, they went in a body to the door of the conclave, and contrary to law forced it open, and commanded them to assemble to learn the will of the Roman people, and required them explicitly to state their intentions to the assembled crowd.

They replied as before, and were again threatened with the consequences, on which, unawed, they unanimously protested that if any further attempt were made to control their actions, the ensuing election would be null and void. "You will only deceive yourselves," said they to the infuriate croud, with admirable firmness, "in supposing you will have a Pope, when you will have none."

On this the Bannerets retired, and the cardinals once more retired to their cells. But the horrible tumult of the populace lasted during the whole night. Some in the surrounding apartments threatened them with death, whilst others in the halls underneath continually struck against the floor with spears, and, collecting faggots and dry reeds, declared they would burn them in the conclave if they did not obey them without delay.

At the earliest dawn of day they therefore assembled in the chapel to proceed with the election, but whilst they endeavoured to celebrate the mass of the Holy Spirit, the yells of the populace were so deafening that the voices of the officiating priests could not be heard. The few inhabitants that had as yet remained in their own houses were now drawn to the Vatican by the concerted signal of the sound of the great bells of St. Peter's and the Capitol, and joined their fellows in endeavouring to force the gates of the palace. On this, three of the cardinals appeared at the window of the chapel and asked the people what they desired. They were told, in reply, that if they did not instantly elect an Italian Pope they should be torn in pieces. The cardinals promised to comply by nine the next morning, but the crowd, increasing in fury, insisted that the election should be made within an hour. They then hastily consulted what was to be done, and renewed the protest several of them had made in secret against the election, before they went into conclave, and agreed to renew it when they could retire to a place of safety. No member of the conclave would accept the papal dignity *pro tempore*, and they therefore resolved to send for the archbishop of Bari to deliver them from their present peril. He had been a witness of the violence they had suffered when entering conclave, and had then declared he would not obey a pope thus illegally

chosen. As eminent for a reputation for probity as for his profound knowledge of the canon law, they flattered themselves that he would scrupulously abide by the conditions of his nominal elevation.

When the cardinals sent for him he feigned to accept the pontificate *pro tempore*, solely to deliver them from the imminent danger of their situation, but overjoyed at the success of his secret machinations with the Bannerets, resolved never to resign it but with life. The archbishop of Bari was accordingly proclaimed to the people in the accustomed form, from the window of the chapel; but at this moment the imprisoned cardinals were threatened with instant destruction. The partisans of cardinal Ursini, disappointed at not hearing his name, called out that John de Bar, a Frenchman peculiarly obnoxious to the Romans, had been elected. On this malicious report, the mob and the magistrates alike broke open the gates with hatchets, and forcing the doors of the sacristy where the cardinals had taken refuge, surrounded them with drawn swords, and nearly stunned them with a clamour of "We will have an Italian Pope! We will have one!" The cardinals were afraid to proffer the ill-omened name of Bari, the first syllable of which would have sheathed the swords of the assailants in their bosoms, but one of them, with admirable presence of mind, declared that the cardinal of St. Peter s (a Roman) had been elected, but would not ac-

cept the office, and that it was their duty to make him consent.

On this the mob without a moment's hesitation, seized the cardinal of St. Peter's, an old man upwards of eighty years of age, so infirm with the gout that he could not walk a step, and *nolens volens* carried him to St. Peter's church, where he was nearly stifled in the crowd; and placing him on the altar all present paid him the customary adoration, though in a transport of passion he exhausted his little remaining strength in screaming out incessantly that he was not Pope. He was then carried to the Vatican, and vainly endeavouring to undeceive those who surrounded him was obliged to submit during the whole of the day to be treated as Pope.

Whilst this ludicrous scene was passing, only to be paralleled by the adventures of the mock caliph in the Arabian Nights, the cardinals gradually retired from the Vatican. Some, notwithstanding the vigilance of the archbishop of Bari, effected their escape from Rome, others barricadoed themselves in their palaces, and a few took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. However, Prignano, who was resolved at every risk to maintain the validity of his election, soon obliged all who had not left Rome, to sanction by their presence the ceremony of his intronization and coronation, which were performed with all the usual ceremonies, no one daring at that moment to dis-

pute his title to the triple crown, though the portion of Scripture he chose himself on the occasion, "*O Lord arise and judge my cause,*" showed his secret consciousness of the illegality of his election.

The archbishop of Bari, now known in history by the execrated name of Urban VI, was of a noble Neapolitan family. At the period of his unhappy election he was about sixty years of age, of a stature approaching to the gigantic, strong and robust, his complexion dark, his eyes fiercely bright.

Such is not the figure we should depict as suitable to the holy father of Christendom, and still less was the long-concealed character of Urban conformable to that of one who professed himself, "*the servant of the servants of the Lord;*" the Vicar of the God of peace and love. Until his elevation he had appeared humble, modest, devout and prudent, austere in his manners, fasting all Advent and Lent, wearing hair-cloth night and day, rarely appearing in public, and then riding on a mule attended by only one servant on horseback. He was eminent in all the scholastic learning of the day, and had shown himself the friend of men of worth and letters; but from the moment of his elevation, he became arrogant, imprudent, inexorable, and vindictive; there was, as Chaucer says of some of the contemporary clergy: — "More mercy found in Maximin and Nero, that

never was good," than was found in him when he assumed the insignia of his high dignity."[11]

Immediately on Urban's accession, he wrote to all the princes of Europe, that his election like

[11] The Catholic writers who espouse the cause of Urban in the Schism with all the violence of religious zeal, give the same character of him as the opposite party; his excesses were too open, too furious to be palliated, as they would have been had he sought to gloss them over with any show of decency.—"Lasciò di se stesso una memoria infausta appresso gli storici, perchè colla sua imprudenza ed alterigia diede non piccola occasione al deplorabile scisma suscitato dall altrui malignità ed ambizione, e perche uomo rotto, implacabile, crudele e volto piu che ad altro ad ingrandire i proprj Nipoti, che tardarono poco a svanire con tutto le lor grandezze e richezze, per questo fu chiamato dall' autor degli Annali di Forli, *Vir pessimus, crudelis, et scandolosus, absque consilio Cardinalium, cujus dolis schismata incepere in Ecclesia Christi.* Io so che la sua memoria è difesa dal Ammirato, ma pure è da pregar Dio che di simili teste calde, sprezzatrici del consilio de' Fratelli, ed atte a rovinar se stesse ed altrui, niuna piu sia posta al governo della chiesa sua santa!" —Muratori, Annali d'Italia, Vol. xii, p. 340. In the prophetic sentences attributed to Malachi, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1130, and awfully kept at Rome, says Frederic Braun, the author of "The Ceremonies of the Court of Rome," that which comes to Urban, in the succession of Pontiffs, is, "*De inferno prægnante.*" This was thought to apply to his character, but it also confirms what Maimbourg says, that he was born in that part of the city of Naples called *Hell*, a quarter to be found in every Christian capital. A similar prophecy is kept at Lyons, written by the hermit of Cusana, in the fourteenth century. These pseudo-prophetic sentences are in general well fitted to some peculiar circumstance of the birth or education of the Popes." See Appendix, No. IV.

that of Urban V, had been caused by an immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which had prompted the cardinals unanimously to choose a Pope not even a member of the Sacred College. These letters the cardinals were forced to confirm, by threats of the same violence that had been used towards them in the first instance. Some few, however, found means to convey private letters to the king of France, acquainting him with their real situation; but they were so well guarded, and so closely watched, it was with the utmost difficulty they could communicate with any of their friends, and few dared to utter or write a word to the disadvantage of Urban.

Had he by gentleness endeavoured to conciliate them, and to unite their interest to his, divided as they were into parties, there is little doubt that they might have been won over to measures that would have given legality to his election in consideration of the exigency of the times; but he not only violated every previous promise, but treated them with a degree of brutality which men of their rank were not likely to pardon under any circumstances.

In his first consistory, held the day after his coronation, he addressed a discourse to the prelates, who had been present at vespers the preceding evening, filled with the grossest abuse; calling them traitors and perjurors, the enemies of

God who abandoned their pastoral duties to enjoy the delights of the court of Rome.

The bishop of Pampeluna, a man of worth and learning, who resided at Rome as apostolical prebendary, replied respectfully but firmly, that he was not deserving of either of these injurious epithets, that he had resided at Rome merely in obedience to the late Pope, and that if Urban would relieve him of the office which had been imposed on him, he would joyfully return to his bishopric, where he was much better off than at Rome.

This prelate, who was remarkable for his moderation and love of peace, remonstrated with Urban in private on the imprudence of his conduct in making enemies both of the bad and the good, by confounding the worthy and the unworthy in one common censure; but the stormy pontiff, who could neither tolerate advice nor contradiction, acted, as he always did on the remonstrances of his friends, with more violence than before.

Fifteen days after the first consistory he held a second, in which he delivered an outrageous discourse to the assembled clergy, on the text, "*I am the good shepherd;*" accused the prelates generally, and the cardinals particularly, of every crime that was odious and detestable, and threatened the most terrific punishment for their mis-

conduct. Increasing in his fury, he next inveighed against the sovereigns of Europe, as if they had been equally his subjects, and declared he would bring the kings of France and England to condign punishment for disturbing Europe with their quarrels. In conclusion, he addressed himself to the cardinal of Amiens who had just returned from his legation in Tuscany, and told him he was a rank traitor; that in lieu of promoting peace between these two princes, as he had been commissioned by the late Pope, he had secretly fomented their divisions for the gratification of his own ambition, to draw money from both parties in turn.

John De La Grange, as haughty and violent as Urban himself, could not tamely brook either his insolent threats towards his sovereign and friend, or this public attack upon his own character. In a fit of ungovernable passion he rose from his seat, and drawing close to the Pope, clenched his fist in his face with a gesture of defiance, and said, "*As Archbishop of Bari, I tell you, you lie!*" Instantly darting out of the consistory, he mounted a fleet horse, and saved himself from the vengeance of the irritated Pontiff.

This was but the beginning of Urban's extravagancies: he ill-treated every body who approached him, refused to ratify an advantageous peace with the Florentines, which the mediation of the Queen of Naples and other powers, and the

personal exertions of Otho of Brunswick, had with difficulty procured;[12] and, stranger still, repulsed with disdain the officer who brought him the treasure of the apostolical chamber.

Many were now convinced that he had suddenly become insane. The tripod of the Delphic God has been supposed to have afflicted the unfortunate Pythoness who pressed it, with a temporary delirium; and Urban is not the only Pontiff who seems to have experienced the same effect from the chair of St. Peter.

In consequence of the continued extravagance of his conduct, the French cardinals resolved to dissimulate for the present, but to declare openly against him as soon as they could retire to a place of safety; which they shortly after did at Agnani, where they had obtained his leave to pass the summer months, as had been their custom, under Gregory XI. The cardinal Camerlengo retired secretly, without permission, and carried with him the papal tiara, and other pontifical ornaments, and the plate of the papal chapel, which it was his office to guard.

The Pope, too late repenting of his harshness, vainly endeavoured to bring back men who felt they had gone too far ever to trust themselves in the power of a man at once so faithless and so

[12] Otho had immediately before Gregory's death received the thanks of the consistory, for his good offices in this negociation.

violent. They only replied to his overtures by intreating that he would peaceably resign a dignity to which he well knew he had no right.

CHAP. IX.

Urban's projects for his Nephew, Francis Prignano—He resolves to depose Joanna—Treats her Ambassadors with insolence—And likewise Otho himself—Joanna sanctions the election of another Pope—Election of Clement VII—His Character—Progress of the Schism in the Church—Hostilities of the Rival Popes—Urban proposes to Charles of Durazzo to bestow on him the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples—The latter finally consents to the deposition of Joanna—The Clementine party defeated at the Battle of Marino—Joanna shelters Clement in Castel del Ovo—Tumult at Naples—Clement retires to Provence—Margaret of Durazzo sent by Joanna to her husband—Urban issues a Bull against Joanna—The people of Rome rise against Urban—His heroic firmness—Preaches a Crusade against Joanna, and melts down the Plate of the Churches to raise supplies—Joanna adopts Louis of Anjou—Death of his brother, Charles V, of France—Durazzo enters Italy—Enters Rome and Naples—Joanna besieged in Castel Novo—Otho defeated and taken—Joanna surrenders—Her interview with Durazzo—Is imprisoned—Receives the Provençal deputies—Is removed to the Fortress of Muro—Pestilence of Naples—Coronation of Charles Durazzo—His perplexities—His cruel treatment of Joanna—Murder of Joanna—General estimate of her Character.

THE unexpected elevation of Urban to the supreme pontificate, entailed in its consequences an age of misery on the kingdom of Naples, and

ultimately caused the destruction of the dynasty, established by the favour of his predecessors, which, for upwards of a century, had rendered this garden of Italy, one of the most flourishing, and one of the best-governed, kingdoms of Europe.

But never was the proverbial shortsightedness of mankind more strikingly exemplified, than by the joy with which the news of his election was received by the court and the city of Naples. The Neapolitans gloried in the exaltation of their countryman, anticipating a rich harvest of honours and offices by his favour; and Joanna naturally rejoiced in the promotion of a subject whom she had long esteemed and honoured, and had constantly employed in offices of importance.

To testify her pleasure, she sent him a present of forty thousand crowns to meet his immediate wants,[1] a ship freighted with provisions, and gifts of every thing she thought might be most acceptable, with a free offer of all that her kingdom afforded; and on the revolt of the foreign cardinals she provided him with a body of troops, which formed the only guard he had, to protect him against those they had levied against him.[2]

[1] Maimbourg, Grand Schisme, v. 1.

[2] Letter of Marcellinus Inghen, rector of the University of Paris, to that University, dated July 27th, 1378.

"The churches, at this present time, are in greater danger of being divided by a schism than it has been for these hundred years. The Pope resides here with the cardinals of Florence, of Milan, of St. Peter's, and Ursini; the other cardinals are all

Urban accepted the gifts of the generous queen, and availed himself of the protection her troops afforded him, but in the same moment concerted her deposition with her brother-in-law, the rebel duke of Andria, who had latterly resided at Rome with his relative Gregory XI.

The fatal spirit of nepotism which has produced most of the crimes that have sullied the Papal throne, had possessed itself of the whole soul of Urban. He resolved at every risk to aggrandize his nephew, Francis or Butillo Prignano, a man of abandoned life and manners; and

at Agnani. It is reported, that the four Italian cardinals, the Roman people, and the greater part of Italy, acknowledge Urban for a true Pope, while the rest will have his election to be null on account of the violence used by the Roman people. The cardinals have sent for some troops to protect them, and by those troops many Romans have been killed as they passed by Rome. Their death the populace have revenged upon the French in that city, of whom they have massacred great numbers, and the foreigners were all in great danger of their lives. How the cardinals mean to employ those troops is not certainly known. Some say that they design to proceed to a new election, and, have with that view, sent for the cardinals at Tivoli. I beg you will lay your commands on me, that I may execute them without delay; for I am here in great danger, and at a much greater expense than I can bear. Yesterday the Pope confirmed, in public consistory, the election of the king of the Romans. The queen of Sicily has sent two hundred horse and a large body of foot, to guard and defend the Pope."—*Bower's Hist. of the Popes—from the History of the University of Paris*, t. iv, p. 468.

knowing he could not hope to obtain from the justice of Joanna, a settlement in the kingdom of Naples commensurate with his ambition, determined, in pursuance of the advice of the duke of Andria, to bestow the investiture on Charles Durazzo, on condition of his making over nearly half the kingdom to his unworthy nephew.

Whilst on the one side secret emissaries were dispatched with these offers to Durazzo, on the other, cardinal Ursini, on pretence of visiting his relative, the count of Nola, went to the court of Naples, and endeavoured to persuade Joanna to abandon Urban, and to use her influence with the Ultramontane cardinals to appoint him Pope in his stead; but this proposal the queen unequivocally rejected, and immediately sent a splendid embassy to Rome with prince Otho and the high chancellor of the kingdom at its head, to mediate between the Pope and cardinals, and if possible prevent the threatened schism.

This first object of the embassy was, however, defeated by the second, which interfered with the vain schemes of ambition Urban had formed for his nephew. The young heiress[3] of the kingdom of Trinacria, as the island of Sicily was called, had been with her own consent betrothed by the Sicilian nobles to the marquis of Monferrat, the nephew of Otho of Brunswick; and Urban's consent to their union was now demanded, by

[3] Maria, daughter and heiress of Frederic the Simple.

the ambassadors of Naples, as a customary formality. He had, however, destined the Sicilian princess for his nephew; and the proposal for her marriage so irritated his furious temper, that sentiments indicative of his intended measures against his former sovereign and constant benefactress continually escaped him, and he could not even command himself so far as to observe the common forms of decorum, towards the illustrious ambassadors whom she had sent to honour and serve him.

Nicholas Spinelli, the chancellor of the kingdom of Naples, had been the intimate friend of Urban when they had both been in the obscure stations from which the favour of Joanna had first advanced them, and at the period of his arrival at Rome, almost as anxiously desired his welfare as that of his own sovereign. But he vainly reminded him of her past favours, and represented the advantages of her present friendship, which both at Rome and at Avignon would be all-sufficient to protect him from the machinations of the adverse cardinals; and urged the Sicilian marriage as peculiarly advantageous to Urban himself, as it would unite both Sicilies in his interest, in case of a schism in the church. But the stormy pontiff, unable to contain his emotions of rage at this unwelcome subject, in a transport of passion, exclaimed, "that he would soon send the queen to spin in the monastery of St. Claire."

From these words, says Muratori, arose a mighty flame of discord![4]

Urban did not seek, by any measures of conciliation or by the common forms of customary respect, to lessen the impression made by this undeserved, and, at the time, unaccountable threat; but by a course of insulting conduct towards her ambassadors, unequivocally manifested his determined hostility to the queen. At a public festival, which occurred during their stay at Rome, Spinelli, as next in rank, seated himself at the side of Otho of Brunswick, on which Urban sent to desire him to get up instantly, and not to presume to occupy a place which did not belong to him, but to seat himself lower down, an insult which he knew could never be pardoned by the revengeful pride of a Neapolitan.

Otho of Brunswick by birth and alliance, by his eminent worth and valour, by the protection he had formerly afforded Urban from the Ghibeline troops, and the many benefits he had conferred on him when he commanded in Lombardy, and since his marriage with the queen of Naples, was entitled to every mark of honour in the Pope's power to bestow; but with equal insolence and ingratitude, he seemed rather to study how to treat him with most contempt. When Otho, according to custom, held the basin and

[4] Annali d'Italia, v. xii. 275.

towel for him to wash before meat, the arrogant pontiff turned away from him, and entering into conversation with some one near, feigned not to see him, and kept him so long kneeling that one of his own friends, shocked at this contemptuous treatment of one of the first princes of Europe, called out at last, "*Your holiness must needs wash! Holy father 'tis full time.*"

On their return to Naples, the prince and the other members of the embassy reported to the queen and council this conduct of the Pope, connected, as they had reason to believe, from the observations they had made at Rome, with the intrigues of the duke of Andria; all her friends and ministers concurred in advising Joanna to sanction the deposition of Urban, self-preservation requiring her to pull down a madman from the height on which he endeavoured to maintain himself, only to hurl destruction on all within the reach of his intemperate fury.

The count of Fondi, who possessed considerable possessions in Romagna, joined with the council in recommending the same line of conduct; and when cardinal Ursini came a second time secretly to endeavour to prevail on the queen to sanction a new election, he found her prepared to grant her protection to the cardinals, who, therefore, immediately after her consent was obtained, assembled at Fondi, on the frontiers of the kingdom, to proceed formally against *the intruder* as they styled Urban.

The death of the cardinal of St. Peter's who had been so ludicrously enthroned as Pope, had reduced their number to fifteen; of the other Italians, cardinal Ursini anxiously desired a new election, in hopes of obtaining the tiara; but the other two were for a time undecided how to act, and remained at Sessa, between the two parties, Urban commanding their return to Rome, and the foreign cardinals summoning them to Agnani, but their irresolution was at last terminated by an artifice worthy of a modern diplomatist. A letter was written to each, holding out hopes of the pontificate, with strict injunctions of secrecy from the other, so that when they met to consult on the case, both were perfectly satisfied as to the expediency of joining their brethren at Agnani.

The Sacred College thus re-united, formed itself into conclave at Fondi, and, unhappily for Italy and Europe in general, disappointed the hopes of the Italians, by electing the count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII, and was enthroned at Fondi on the 20th of September, 1379, in presence of Otho of Brunswick, the Neapolitan ambassadors, and principal nobility of the kingdom.

Italy had been for seventy years without a native Pope, and had one been chosen to succeed Urban, as every dictate of sound policy demanded, the Romans would have given him up

to his legal successor without a struggle; for such was the intemperate folly of his conduct, that all men would have rejoiced in the change.

His treachery and violence began the schism in the first instance, but the obstinate selfishness of the French cardinals prevented their adopting the only expedient that would have terminated it at once, and saved Italy from relapsing into that state of barbarism, from which it had made such rapid advances in the preceding part of the century.

The cardinal and count of Geneva, was chosen from amongst the French, because allied with many of the crowned heads in Europe, and distinguished for his various accomplishments; but, unfortunately his abilities were not of that sort adapted to the exigences of the perilous situation he was called to fill. He was, it is true, a profound and elegant scholar, and eloquent in no common degree, speaking fluently and agreeably the French, Italian, German, and Latin languages; but he was improvident, generous, magnificent, and prodigal, in a word, *princely* in his habits and disposition, closely resembling the unclerical Clement VI, in every thing except in his political sagacity, the quality most indispensable in his critical situation. Clement was at this time in his thirty-sixth year;[5] as unlike his ferocious

[5] He was amongst the youngest of popes, Leo the Tenth was thirty-seven when elected.

rival in person as in mind, his height scarcely reached the middle stature, though his air was majestic, and a slow and stately step rendered a slight degree of lameness scarcely perceptible.

During the election at Fondi, Urban had visited Tivoli, and on his return to Rome, was astonished to find himself deserted, not only by the whole Sacred College, but by all the officers of the court of Rome, and almost all the prelates and clergy.

His pride now entirely forsook him, and weeping like a terrified child, he gave himself up to the unmanly despondency which, on a similar abandonment, had marked the conduct of that Pagan sovereign of Rome whose cruelty he afterwards surpassed.[6]

From this state of dejection, he was roused by the energetic remonstrances of St. Catherine of Sienna, who, with the authority of a prophetess of heaven, charged him never to resign his office, and with admirable political sagacity, pointed out the measures which would enable him to keep it. Pursuant to her advice, he immediately created a new college of cardinals, of all the nations and great families of Europe, and as the Saint had enjoined him to temper the rigour of

[6] "Nero fiddled when Rome was burning;" but Urban, the pontiff of a God of mercy, read his breviary whilst his ears were rejoiced with the cries of the victims he had caused to be tortured on suspicion!

his actions with expedient moderation, he passed from one extreme to the other, and stooped to flatter men of the lowest condition, while he endeavoured to attach them to his interest by raising them to the offices of those who had withdrawn themselves from his service.

The rival popes soon divided Europe between them. The emperor of Germany, the kings of England, Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, and Bohemia, most of the states of Italy and Flanders adhered to Urban. Whilst the kingdoms of France, Spain, Naples, Scotland, Cyprus, Savoy, the dukedom of Austria, some of the Italian and many of the German states, with all the junior powers dependent on France, espoused the cause of Clement.

Of all these powers, France alone decided from a conviction of the justice of the cause. Charles V, refused to acknowledge either pope on his own responsibility, but promised to abide by the decision of a general assembly of the nobility and clergy of the kingdom, and of the University of Paris.

After five months deliberation, the latter body confirmed the award of the former in favour of Clement, and Charles immediately acknowledged him as the true Pope.[7]

[7] "Clement having gained the king of France his cause," says Froissart, "acquired great credit; for the kingdom of France is the fountain of faith and excellence from the grand churches which are established there, and its noble prelatures."

The other powers of Europe seem to have been influenced chiefly by political considerations. The queen of Naples opposed Urban in self-defence, the king of Hungary supported him in opposition to her.[8] England took the contrary side to France, Scotland, as usual, sided with France against England, and the kingdoms of Spain were drawn from Urban by the influence of the king of Arragon, who warmly resented his presumption in demanding the hand of his niece, the heiress of the island of Sicily, for his nephew Butillo Prignano.

Urban and Clement published crusades and fulminated anathemas against each other, and under pretext of punishing schismatics and heretics, all Europe was disturbed by the cruelties, the quarrels, and the oppressions of their adherents; and the plains of Romagna soon witnessed what never before had been beheld in the various schisms which had split the church, rival armies bearing the banner and the keys of St. Peter.

Whilst this Papal war was carried on, at first with signal success on the Clementine side, Urban dispatched the duke of Andria to Charles of Durazzo, to renew his offer of the investiture of the kingdom of Naples.

[8] The king and queen of Hungary were among the most zealous of Urban's partizans. The latter sent him a magnificent crown and other ornaments, to replace those he had been deprived of by the cardinal Camerlengo.

When this proposal had first been made to Charles, the temptation to seize by a violent usurpation what, in the course of nature, he must in a few years peaceably possess, seemed so small, the risk so great, and the ingratitude so monstrous, that he unhesitatingly refused his consent. But by constant repetition, a proposal which had at first shocked his untarnished rectitude, lost much of its enormity in his eyes. Every engine was set in motion to work on his mind:—the duke of Andria artfully endeavoured to inspire him with a jealousy now of Otho of Brunswick, and now of Robert of Artois, husband of the queen's eldest niece, Joanna, duchess of Durazzo, averring that female caprice would in the end bequeath the crown now offered to him in his own right to one or other of these princes. Urban threatened on his refusal to bestow it on another; the voice of the tempter whispered that the deposed queen would be more kindly treated by an adopted son than by one who owed her no obligation, and St. Catherine completed the victory over conscience, by commanding him, in the name of heaven, to obey the true pontiff and defend him against the attempts of schismatics. The king of Hungary, fearing that the too great popularity of Durazzo in Hungary would deprive his own daughter of her crown in case of his demise, and eager for the consummation of the vengeance he had long thirsted for against Joanna,

wished from a double motive to occupy him in the kingdom of Naples, and therefore used every exhortation to overcome his reluctance, and rendered the project feasible, by offering his arms and treasure for the enterprise as soon as the peace then negociating with the Venetians should be signed. Influenced by the interested counsels of this implacable triumvirate, and by the ravings of the fanatic, who, from the obscurity of her cell governed the politics of Italy; Charles, in an evil hour for himself, for his country, and his family, consented to become, first the tool, and finally, the victim of Urban's mad ambition. Having once tasted of power and crime, he knew not where to stop, but drained the intoxicating cup of ambition to its deadly dregs, thirsting as reason sunk beneath its influence, with increased eagerness for the baleful poison.

Any overt measures against Joanna were, however, for a time delayed, till the wife and children of Durazzo, who resided in her palace as the most precious objects of her care, could be withdrawn from the kingdom of Naples; and, Urban, in the mean time, prepared the way for his attack, by creating a large number of Neapolitan cardinals, and by bestowing ecclesiastical benefices on some member of every family of importance in the kingdom, thus binding a number of partizans to his cause by their own interest, the only tie which firmly holds the majority of mankind together.

By his secret emissaries, the duke of Andria laboured not less assiduously to increase the popularity of Durazzo, and to excite a general jealousy of Otho of Brunswick.

Whilst these intrigues were going on, the Clementines suffered a signal discomfiture at the battle of Marino; and St. Catherine had the address to persuade the credulous Italians, that by the prayers which, in imitation of Moses, she had addressed to heaven during the combat, she had given the victory to the Urbanists, and promised the same præternatural aid in all their future contests. St. Catherine's assistance would, however, have availed but little to the Urbanists had they not been defended by the brave Sir John Hawkwood and the free companies under his command; but the valour of the British warrior, and the revelations of the Italian Saint so effectually served the Roman Pope, that his enemies suffered a succession of defeats; and Clement thinking himself no longer in safety at Fondi, requested an escort from Joanna to convey him to Naples.

His timidity in a slight degree infected the queen, who did not, as Costanzo has remarked, act on this occasion with her usual wisdom. The court usually resided at Castel Novo, but Joanna, doubtful of the reception Clement might meet with from the populace of Naples, had Castel del Ovo magnificently fitted up for his reception, and

a temporary bridge thrown from the shore to the insulated rock on which it stands. Over this bridge, Clement, and the Sacred College, and their suite passed without entering the capital, the courteous queen fearing some mark of disrespect might tarnish the splendor of their entrance. Under the arch of the great gate-way of the castle, Joanna, with all her suite, awaited his approach, and when Clement was seated in the pontifical chair, prepared on this spot, paid him homage, followed by Otho of Brunswick, Robert of Artois, the three sisters, Joanna duchess of Durazzo, Agnes the widowed princess of Verona, and Margaret of Durazzo; a large number of the knights and barons of the kingdom, and a numerous and beautiful troop of the junior members of the nobility of both sexes, amongst whom appeared the son and daughter of Charles Durazzo, knelt in succession to receive the Papal benediction.

When this imposing ceremony was over, the Pope went up into the Castle, where he and the Sacred College were treated with regal magnificence, and welcomed with feasts and entertainments which lasted several days, but in which, owing to the seclusion in which they took place, the city had little share.

Whenever the rulers of mankind appear to shrink from the public gaze, the multitude construe their actions into fear, and that fear into a con-

sciousness of error. The Neapolitan mob has at all times been distinguished for its avidity for shows, and public festivals; and had the queen, in her usual residence of Castel Novo, followed her usual custom of making them, in some degree, partakers of the festivities of the court, they would, for the moment at least, "have cast up their greasy caps in the air," as willingly for one pope as another; but thus excluded, they began to murmur, and to assert that the queen was afraid to hold her rejoicings in public, knowing she was acting wrong in following the suggestions of her ministers in preference to the dictates of her own judgment, and that she was misled by men, who seeking the gratification of their own passions and interest rather than the dignity of the crown or the welfare of the people, induced her to favour an anti-pope and a foreigner rather than one from amongst their own citizens, from whom all might expect favours and benefits.

The measures of sovereigns often fail from their acting as if the motives of the policy they adopt were known to the public at large as well as to themselves, and their most justifiable actions, deprived of the sanction of public opinion, sometimes produce fatal consequences. The reasons, however imperative, which induced Joanna to abandon Urban were known only to her own council and a few leading men in the state, and

therefore to the generality of her subjects her conduct seemed rather to result from a blind confidence in the counsels of interested men than from any just political motives.

Shortly after the arrival of Clement, an accident occurred which raised the popular discontent to its height, and was in its consequences highly injurious to his interest. An artizan of the piazza of the sadlers, speaking disrespectfully of the queen to a crowd of idle listeners assembled at his door, a gentleman who was passing by on horseback stopped to reprove him. The cavalier's reproof but increased the intemperance of the sadler's language, and provoked at his insolence, he drove up his horse against him to knock him down. The unfortunate demagogue received so severe a blow in the face that one of his eyes was put out, on which the surrounding crowd flew to arms. In the piazza of the clothiers, the nephew of the sadler raised the cry of Urban VI, and collecting the rabble in great numbers, proceeded to pillage the houses of the foreigners who resided in the lower part of the town. The abbot Barruto, a man of authority and wealth in the city, who had been appointed archbishop of Naples by Urban, to the exclusion of the former archbishop appointed by Gregory XI, headed this rabble, took forcible possession of the Cathedral, and drove out the family of the archbishop Bernard from the episcopal palace.

During this tumult in the capital, the ill-disposed in the surrounding country rose in rebellion, robbing and destroying the neighbouring villages, and advanced as far as the gates of Naples, hoping to be admitted to pillage by the mob. But some of the nobility, sent against them by the queen, quickly dispersed these disorderly bands, and her own prompt and vigorous measures quelled the mutineers within the walls;[9] a few of the ringleaders were executed to intimidate the rest, and such perfect tranquillity was restored, that the populace in a few days saw the houses of the Urbanist archbishop levelled with the ground without an attempt to save them.

This tumult, though unimportant in itself, was serious in its consequences by the panic it struck on the mind of Clement. In the commencement of it he left Castel del Ovo for Gaéta, and could not be induced by any persuasions to return to Naples. No assurances could allay his fears, no arguments alter his resolution of embarking for Avignon, and leaving Italy to his rival, at the very moment when the people of Rome, wearied by the continual assaults of the Clementines, were on the point of rising to put Urban to death. In

[9] "La Regina benche fosse rimasta turbata, però usando *la solita virilità*," &c. The contrast of the cowardice of Clement is striking: "Tutto questo non bastò a levare il timore al Papa."—*Costanzo*, t. ii. 35.

Italy alone could Clement hope to obtain a decided victory over his rival, and had he possessed any generosity of mind, he would to the last have supported Joanna by his presence and counsels. If he had made any attempt to win popular favour at Naples, he would at this moment, when the people were humbled by their late chastisement have been eminently successful. The great he might indissolubly have attached to his own interest and that of Joanna, by a profuse distribution of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices which the authority of the queen would have put in immediate possession, unlike the promotions of Urban, which hung on an uncertain contingency, and were not to be obtained but by imminent risk. From the implacable character of Urban, whoever could have been seduced to accept any favour, however trifling, from Clement, would have been forced in self-defence to adhere to his party to the last. The extravagances of Urban had alienated all temperate men from his party, whilst Clement was followed by the whole of the Sacred College, and by all the dignitaries of the ancient Italian prelacy; but, unfortunately for Joanna, he knew not how to use his advantages, deficient alike in decision of character and political sagacity, he discouraged his partizans in arms, in the lands of the church, by his desertion, used no endeavours to conciliate the affections of any class of Neapolitans, took no mea-

sures in her favour, till it was too late to remedy the evils he had brought on her, but with the short-sighted selfishness which marks a weak mind, thought only of his establishment at Avignon, and left her to her fate.

The selfishness of a strong mind is like all its impulses more violent than that of a weak one, but its views are more enlightened, and it is therefore less dangerous to those who are compelled to act within the sphere of its influence.

Soon after Clement had set sail for Provence, Margaret of Durazzo demanded permission to join her husband in the north of Italy. Joanna, long aware of the designs of Urban, and hourly more suspicious of those of Durazzo, easily penetrated the motive of this request. There was, however, no medium between making her niece a prisoner of state, or suffering her to depart freely. She magnanimously chose the latter alternative; unwilling that any one act of her life towards her niece should wear a different complexion from the rest, or should sanction or excuse any change of conduct she might meditate. This was almost their first separation. From the period of Margaret's birth, which took place shortly after the murder of her father by that same implacable king who now sought to place on her brow a crown stained with the blood of her adopted mother, she had, with little interruption, resided in the palace of Joanna, had shared all its

pleasures and magnificence, and every year of her life had been marked by a succession of favours, bestowed with regal generosity and maternal kindness. Mindful to the last of her welfare and her pleasure, Joanna sent Margaret to her husband, escorted by a strong guard and every appointment becoming her rank. They met no more — Joanna was spared the pain of seeing one she had so long cherished, when she could no longer doubt she had leagued herself with her worst enemies for her destruction.

The Neapolitan troops who conducted Margaret and her children to her husband had scarcely returned to give intelligence of her safe arrival to the queen, when Urban published sentence of deposition against the latter,[10] as a schismatic, a heretic, and a rebel, guilty of high treason against him, her sovereign liege, and transferred her forfeited crown to Charles Durazzo, the champion of the church.

But at this moment, a tumult of the people of Rome had well nigh delivered Joanna from the malicious ambition of this furious pope. The licentious populace of Rome were now become weary of the idol they had raised, as they found, too late, that it was better to have a pope resident at Avignon than to have their fields devastated, and their very suburbs destroyed by the encounters of opposing armies, whilst they suffered

[10] 31st April, 1380.

little short of absolute famine from the cessation of the usual supplies of provisions. Their fury was at first vented by the massacre of all foreigners at Rome, of every age, sex, and condition, both laity and clergy, amongst whom were a number of the inferior clergy of those nations which had sided with Urban, who had been attracted to Rome by the hopes of preferment.

Urban was unable to save his partizans from the fury of the Romans, and soon became himself the object of their detestation, as the original cause of their calamities which they hoped to end with his life. They first endeavoured to take him off by poison administered by his own servants, but this not succeeding, they rose in arms and surrounded the pontifical palace, determined to put him to death without further delay.

Amidst all his excesses, Urban possessed some of the requisites of greatness—that inflexible constancy of purpose which generally forces its way to its object, unchecked by the feeble opposition of an ever-vacillating multitude, and an undaunted resolution in situations of danger, worthy of higher aims and a more virtuous mind. His firmness on this occasion saved him from instant destruction. With admirable presence of mind, recalling to memory the conduct of Boniface VIII, on a similar occasion, he arrayed himself in the pontifical robes, the triple crown, and the other

insignia of the rank to which the favour of the fickle multitude who now sought his death had so lately raised him by similar violence, and seating himself on his throne commanded the doors of the palace to be thrown open. The multitude rushed in with drawn swords, but such was the effect of his commanding figure, eagle-eye, and awe-inspiring voice, that all stopped short on his simply asking them, in the words of his divine master, whom they sought. The unmoved calmness he displayed, seemed to a superstitious mob the effect of divine inspiration, not presuming to violate the majesty of heaven which they thought visibly presented to them in his person, they retired in silence, impressed with shame and horror at the crime they had meditated.

St. Catherine, deemed the prophetess of God, again stepped forward to his aid,[11] and by her energetic remonstrances so worked on the minds of the people, that those arms which they had turned against Urban himself, they were now eager to use against his enemies. Encouraged by the return of popular favour, Urban preached a crusade against the queen of Naples and her adherents; but this produced so little in a pecuniary point of view, that to raise the necessary

[11] Saint Catherine was at this period resident at Rome, by the command of Urban, who was well aware of her influence over the people.

supplies, he sold first all the local revenues of the churches at Rome, and the jewels which adorned the shrines, and finally melted down all the gold and silver images of the religious edifices as well as the sacred plate, not sparing even the crosses, patinas, or chalices.[12]

On the intelligence of the rebellion of Charles Durazzo and of the crusade published by Urban against her, Joanna summoned the barons of the kingdom to perform the customary service. From the governors of the city of Naples she obtained a small subsidy, with which she paid the stipendiaries under the command of Otho; but finding all her measures of defence thwarted by the underhand opposition of the numerous partizans Urban had made by his distributions of ecclesiastical benefices, and the troops she could raise inadequate to contend with the formidable army col-

[12] If any prodigies occurred when saints and martyrs were thus a second time exposed to the flames, the resolute pontiff was not to be daunted by them: unlike a contemporary soldier of France, who presuming to lay a sacrilegious hand on the crown of the statue of the virgin of Bourbourg, grew mad with fear and horror, when the miraculous image, moved by right royal indignation, turned her back on him! One of his companions, however, unawed by this dread sign of regal displeasure, presented himself before the averted countenance of our lady of Bourbourg, and endeavoured to deprive her of the costly jewel which had attracted the cupidity of his more superstitious companion; but the church bells ringing of their own accord, brought the king of France and his gallant knights to her rescue, and consigned the daring robber to prison.

lecting against her, she sent the count of Caserta to raise succours in Provence, and to negotiate for assistance at the court of France.

To induce the French princes to take prompt and effectual measures for her preservation, she cancelled the letters of adoption she had made in favour of the ungrateful Durazzo, and sent others to Provence to be ratified by Clement, appointing Louis of Anjou, brother of Charles V, her universal heir.

France was at this period filled with a warlike nobility burning for martial exploits, Louis of Anjou was a prince of ability and valour, and Charles willingly consented to appropriate the funds of his well-filled treasury to an enterprise so advantageous to the House of France.

A gallant army was quickly collected, composed of the flower of the French nobility, and not only the victory of the queen of Naples over her enemies was anticipated with confidence, but the total overthrow of the Urbanist party in Italy. The second House of Anjou was expected to triumph like the first, and once more to establish in Italy the authority of the Pope it revered.

But Joanna vainly strove against the force of destiny. By the influence of untoward circumstances which no human foresight could anticipate, the wisest measures adopted for her de-

[13] June 20, 1380.

fence but accelerated her destruction; and the disasters which for centuries attended the race of princes to whom she transferred her inheritance, gave rise to the common proverb, "*that the lilies of France would not a second time take root in Italy.*"

The unexpected death of Charles V of France, in the forty-second year of his age,[14] transferred the government of that kingdom to Louis of Anjou in quality of Regent. This prince had hitherto been distinguished by the honourable title of *the father of the people;* but from the moment he became regent his rapacity rendered him odious to the nation. His first act was, to seize the entire of the royal treasure for the prosecution of his Neapolitan expedition, and to supply its place he laid on taxes which had been for some years discontinued. The popular discontent gave rise to such serious tumults, that the excesses of the *Jaquerie* were expected a second time to desolate the kingdom, and the nobility who had armed for foreign war, were compelled to remain at home for the defence of their dearest interests.

From these unfortunate circumstances, an adoption which had promised security to Joanna threw increased power into the hands of her enemies. Though she was generally beloved by her subjects, many, especially of the younger

[14] 17th Sept. 1380.

generation, looked beyond the few remaining years of her childless reign, and preferred the rule of a native prince esteemed for his valour and ability, and popular from his engaging manners and liberality, which as yet concealed his cruel and faithless character, to the domination of foreigners who they feared would despoil the natives to enrich adventurers of his own nation.

Whilst all circumstances thus concurred to favour the treason of Durazzo, he entered Italy at the head of eight thousand Hungarian knights, and a large body of German and Italian infantry.[15] The excesses which marked his progress were well worthy of his cause, he pillaged and destroyed the defenceless towns and villages, and levied contributions from the fortified places. Florence was saved from a siege, solely by the prowess of Sir John Hawkwood and his Breton companies; but the citizens were obliged to purchase their safety in part, by a promise not to afford assistance to Joanna, and a contribution of forty thousand florins under the specious name of a loan; and with this contribution, Durazzo engaged Sir John Hawkwood in his service, who never afterwards quitted it.

A party of the inhabitants of the unfortunate town of Arezzo was so infatuated as to invite Durazzo to accept the government,[16] expecting to find in him the justice and benevolence which

[15] 1381. [16] Muratori Annali d'Italia.

had marked the conduct of the father and grandfather of Joanna. On the entrance of his army it became the scene of rapine and violence, the churches and monasteries were as little respected as the private dwellings of the citizen, and were pillaged and defiled by the excesses of a barbarous soldiery. In the following year it was twice pillaged and sacked by his officers, on pretence of a revolt produced by their tyranny, on which the inhabitants of every age and condition abandoned the ruins, and begged a precarious subsistence from the charity of their countrymen.

In the month of May, Durazzo entered Rome, where he was received by Urban with a degree of magnificence commensurate with his joy at his arrival. He immediately received the investiture of the two Sicilies, but on condition that he should make over to Urban's nephew, Butillo, the principality of Capua, the duchy of Amalfi, the counties of Caserta, Fondi and Minervino, the towns of Aversa, Cajeta, Castel à Mare, Turrento, Nocera, and many other cities, towns, castles, and fortresses, so as in effect to divide the kingdom with him.

Whilst Urban, on his part, intended that the second half of the kingdom of Naples should in time follow the first, and devolve on his nephew; Charles resolved he should never be in possession of either, though he unhesitatingly swore to every thing required, and would, in promise, have

willingly exceeded even the scriptural limit of a monarch's liberality, *the half of his kingdom*, if Urban had demanded it. This ready compliance with all his wishes so gratified the ambitious hopes of the Pope, that he bestowed on Charles, without reservation, the whole of the treasure he had procured by the spoliation of the churches.

With these funds Charles increased his army by taking into his pay all the mercenary troops he could collect, and in the month of June appeared on the frontiers of Naples.

Otho prepared to dispute his passage at San Germano, the key to the kingdom; but many of the barons, who had promised to join him there, failing in their engagements, he was compelled to retire and leave the passes of the mountain open to the enemy, in order to form a junction with a body of mercenaries in the pay of the queen at Ariano. With these he fell back on Naples, and was so closely followed by Durazzo, that on the 17th of July, at five in the evening, both armies encamped under the walls so close to each other, that each knight could be distinctly recognized by the adverse party.

With Charles was the duke of Andria, Gentilis de Sangro, Urban's legate, and his nephew, now intitled prince of Capua (that empty name being all he ever derived from the principality), many of the principal barons of the kingdom, and two of the elders of the city of Naples at the head of a band of adventurers and malefactors.

In the army of Otho there were fewer barons, as the queen had kept many of those who sided with her, in the capital, to quell any riot that might arise amongst the populace; but his standard was followed by a multitude of private Neapolitan gentlemen, who were on the one hand below the sphere of the ambitious hopes of the great, and on the other superior to the rebellious licentiousness of the populace.

Every government must be insecure where this best and middle order does not predominate; and to protect this class from the arrogance of the nobility and the ferocity of the multitude, had been the chief care of Joanna's equitable and enlightened administration; it was, consequently, found unanimous in its fidelity to her cause, and in a more civilized age would have secured its triumph.

The two armies remained in sight of each other for three hours, without offering to combat. That of Charles was the most numerous, but he feared to commence the attack till he could be assured the Neapolitans would not fall on his rear whilst Otho engaged him in front.

Otho, who ranked amongst the first captains of the day for military skill, had got Charles between him and the city, by a movement somewhat similar to that by which Napoleon hoped to have destroyed the allied army in the campaign of 1814, but which failed in both instances from the same cause.

Some of the populace of the Urbanist party escaped over the walls, and informed Durazzo, that the city was divided into two parties, one for the queen, the other for him and Urban, and offered to conduct a few of his followers along the sands to a gate, which was left unguarded, being supposed to be sufficiently protected by the sea.

A few of Durazzo's soldiers swam through the waves to this gate, and finding it neither barred nor guarded, passed quickly on to the market place, and raising a sudden cry of Urban and Charles, by the aid of their partizans, who were secretly assembled to favour their design, opened the gate under which he was encamped, before effectual resistance could be offered. As his troops entered, a strong body marched to the gate nearest to the army of Otho, and guarded it against their entrance.

Otho quickly discerned what was passing, and moved to fall on the rear-guard of the enemy, but only arrived in time to destroy the band of adventurers under Cola Mostone, the factious deputy of the city. Those who were inside of the gate barred it against their own partizans, as otherwise the prince would have entered with them, and they would have been attacked in disorder on all sides, by him and the loyal barons within. So that these misguided wretches were cut off to a man. All within the walls of the

city was confusion and tumult, the party of the queen vainly strove against the forces of Charles and the populace, and such of the minor gentry and nobility as could effect their escape fled to the surrounding country. Almost in the same moment that the queen received intelligence of the entrance of the enemy, a crowd of noble ladies and their children, a number of the Clementine clergy, and of the most esteemed of the elder nobility, who had spent their best days in her service, appeared before Castel Novo, imploring admittance. The ever generous queen could not steel her heart against their supplications, and bid them retire to certain death, or horrors more dreadful, from the combined ferocity of the mob and soldiery, but trusting to the speedy arrival of ten gallies from Provence which were hourly expected, she admitted all to share her last asylum, expecting soon to be enabled to take them with her beyond the oppressor's reach.

Thus, by what some might call an excess of compassion, the provisions which would have lasted the garrison and the royal suite seven months were consumed in one;[15] had they held out four days longer, Joanna would, in the words of Boccaccio, have again reigned triumphantly.

Monarchs have generally been precipitated from the throne by the abuses of their government, or by their own vices; but Joanna was

[15] Costanzo.

doomed to fall nobly by her virtues. She was too just to resort to those acts of violence or extortion by which the princes of her times supplied their exigencies from the productive industry of the laborious citizen, or to compel pecuniary assistance where it should have been freely given, and therefore, at this juncture, when a temporary delusion rendered the mass of her subjects lukewarm in her cause, she was left without the means of effectual resistance. When she was lost to her people they became fully sensible of her value, their repentance was sincere, but unavailing, and half the exertion that was made to avenge her death, would have secured her throne.

Castel Novo was too strong for Durazzo to reduce it by force, but patiently waiting for his prey, like the couched tiger of the forest, he trusted to the effects of famine alone.

Otho vainly endeavoured to draw him out of the city, by preventing the ingress of provisions, and by breaking down the aqueduct which supplied it with water. But the army of Durazzo enjoyed comparative abundance of provisions, as all except the rabble had fled from the city, and excellent springs were discovered within the walls.

All the hopes of Joanna were now placed on the expected gallies from Provence, which would have borne her away to present security, and have brought her back to future triumphs, to be gained by the arms of Louis of Anjou. But delayed by

some unlucky accident they were vainly looked for, with straining eyes, from the first dawn of day, till the last ray of the sun sunk beneath those waves which promised the only means of escape.

With the queen were her two nieces Joanna duchess of Durazzo, and Agnes widow of Can della Scala, prince of Verona. The duchess of Durazzo inherited a large revenue and had accumulated considerable wealth by her parsimonious habits. Previous to the siege she had refused to advance the queen a portion of her wealth for their mutual defence, though she was in the utmost want of money. But now when pinched with want, and reduced to feed on carrion, they were on the verge of destruction, she too late repented of her avarice, and filling an immense vase with gold and jewels laid it at Joanna's feet.[16] The unfortunate queen smiled sweetly, but mournfully, at sight of this unseasonable liberality, and gently rejecting the useless offering, said to the duchess, "A sack of wheat were more precious to me now, my fair niece, than all this treasure, which you have reserved only to fall a prey to our common enemy."

When reduced to the last extremity, on the twentieth of August, Joanna sent Hugh Sanseverinesco, grand protonotary of the kingdom, to Durazzo, to treat for some truce or accommodation. Charles received Sanseverinesco well, for he was

[16] Costanzo.

the most powerful noble in the kingdom and his own nearest relative in the maternal line; but feeling an assurance that the queen must shortly fall into his hands, he would grant no further delay than five days, at the end of which time she was to surrender the castle to him if not relieved, at the same time he promised that she should not be removed thence, but be served there by her usual suite. And to induce the queen to surrender willingly, and confirm his title by acknowledging him once more as her successor, Durazzo sent a deputation of such of the nobility as he thought might have most influence to induce her to receive him favourably, alleging plausible excuses for his conduct, and making earnest protestations of his submissive reverence and filial affection! With the same design he sent her every day fruit and poultry for her table, and desired she might be supplied abundantly with every thing she chose for her own use.

Joanna, however, would not consent to admit to her presence the rebel prince, who had violated all public and private obligations, but thanking him for his present courtesies, did not the less send to Otho to conjure him to make a last effort for her release.

Otho accordingly on the 25th of August, the last of the five days, brought all his army from Aversa by the road of Piedigrotta, and passing Eschia attempted to break down the barriers

erected by Durazzo, and to throw provisions into the castle. A pitched battle ensued, which was fought by both parties with so much bravery that victory for a long time remained doubtful, till Otho, maddened at the thought of the captivity of his queen, whom nothing but a decided victory could save, aimed with desperate valour directly at the standard of Charles, who was surrounded by the flower of the knights formed in the long contests of Hungary with Venice. Against these the new-raised levies of Otho were unable to stand, he was left almost alone in the thickest of the enemy, received numerous wounds, and being thrown to the ground by his horse accidentally falling, he was taken prisoner.[17] His capture struck such a panic in his troops that in spite of the efforts of his brother Baldassero of Brunswick, and Robert of Artois, duke of Durazzo, they fled in all directions. A great number dismounted their horses and climbed the craggy sides of the mountain to take refuge in Castel St. Elmo, and as a tremendous rain prevented the enemy's soldiers from pursuing them, the common

[17] "Equo Othonis casualiter cadente, Carolus victoriam et civitatem obtinuit, et tandem totum regnum"—says the Continuation of the Venetian Chronicle of Andrew Danduli.—By much the same accident, Charles of Anjou gained the kingdom of Naples from Manfred.

"Illustrissima Joanna Hierosolymitana et Siciliæ Regina pluribus annis regnum ipsum ad eam juridice spectans pacifice et sapientissime possedisset"—says the same Chronicler.

people of Naples were employed for hours in catching the horses thus left at large by their owners. When all was lost, Baldassero of Brunswick, Robert duke of Durazzo, the count of Ariano, and Jacomo Zurlo, the head of the private gentry of Naples, effected their escape; but many of the nobility who had relations in the enemy's camp, on their guarantee, returned next day to Naples, as the cause of the queen was utterly hopeless.

On the morning of the twenty-sixth no succours yet appearing from Provence, Joanna sent Sanseverinesco to tender her surrender to the victor.

Durazzo shortly after entered the castle followed by his guard, and found the queen walking in the gardens.[18] His heart was not as yet sufficiently hardened in crime to permit him to behold without some emotion the generous princess who had cultivated his growing faculties in youth, who had given him the daughter of her adoption, and had proffered him the inheritance of the crown she wore. A momentary feeling of shame abashed him in her presence; and such was the force of habit, that though they had changed their relative situations since they last had met, he knelt at her feet with the same marks of respect as in the plenitude of her glory.[19] Awakened conscience might at this moment whisper that he had prepared his own ruin, with that of his benefactress, and prophe-

[18] Bouche. [19] Costanzo, v. ii. 49.

tically point to the grave which awaited him, separated but by a short interval from hers.

"I will not enumerate the benefits I have conferred on you," said Joanna, addressing the ungrateful prince, "it would ill become a captive to humiliate her conqueror; heaven and earth behold us, and will judge between us. Remember only my regal dignity (if any thing sacred can still find place in your memory) and treat my husband with the respect due to a prince of his rank."[20]

Durazzo eagerly renewed his hollow protestations of reverence and love,[21] assured the queen he would never have dispossessed her of a throne he rather wished her to keep, had he not seen that Otho was preparing to dispute it with him in case of her death,—an excuse as shallow as false, as the queen and her husband were of the same age, and nature, prodigal of her favours, had endowed the former with a vigour of constitution that promised length of days.

The feelings of Joanna, on receiving these professions, may easily be imagined; but commanding her indignation, with her usual majesty and eloquence, she again enjoined him to respect the honour of prince Otho, and besought his mercy for the captives in the castle; amongst whom were many of the Clementine clergy, who too justly

[20] Gaillard, Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne.

[21] Costanzo, vol. ii. 47, 49.

dreaded the cruel vengeance of the victorious Urbanists.

Though Charles had thus forcibly seized the kingdom of Naples, the rich inheritance of Provence and Piedmont was not to be obtained, unless Joanna could be deluded or intimidated into nominating him her heir, and in this hope her life was for a time respected.

Knowing from her character that she was more likely to be moved by kindness than by fear, he at first treated her as if she had still been queen. She was approached with the customary forms, and attended by her usual officers. On the fourth day after her capture, the arrival of the long-expected Provençal gallies, as unavailing now, as the ill-timed gifts of the duchess of Durazzo, added a fresh pang to the anguish of her feelings. On their arrival Charles once more stooped to flatter and to fawn on the woman whom his treachery had undone. He repaired to the queen, and with that smooth speech and placid demeanour for which he was distinguished, renewed all his professions, and saying she must now be convinced of his sincerity and good will, humbly supplicated her to nominate him the heir, not only to that kingdom of which he had possessed himself by force, but of Provence, and entreated her to command the Provençal troops to land as friends.

The disposition of Joanna had originally been

confiding, almost to a fault, in those she loved, but the perfidy of Durazzo had been too flagrant, his ingratitude too monstrous, for her now to place any reliance on his promises. She knew that any instrument she might sign in his favour would consign her to endless captivity, if not to more welcome death. From the Regent of France, only, could she entertain a hope, however slender, of release, and a change of purpose on her part would alienate him for ever from her cause. Durazzo had already dared too much, to set her free on any terms, and the life she held by the favour of a man dependent on Urban VI, and the king of Hungary, was not worth the sacrifice of her honour.

The experience of all history, and more especially the conduct of the founder of her own dynasty, in the murder of the innocent Conradine, had shown her, that the prison of princes was but the vestibule of their tomb, and magnanimously awaiting her inevitable fate, she resolved to remain firm to her engagements with Clement and Louis of Anjou.

Deceived by the composure of her manner and countenance, and hoping all he wished from the timidity that he believed was inherent in her sex, Charles acceded to her request to grant a safe-conduct to a few deputies from the French ships.

On the entrance of the count of Caserta and the Provençal barons, Joanna addressed them in the following words :

" Neither the conduct of my ancestors, nor the oaths of fidelity I myself received with my crown from the county of Provence, should have permitted you to delay so long to succour me, that after having suffered the extremity of want and hardships, not only grievous to weak women, but difficult to be endured by the most robust soldier, after having been reduced even to feed on the putrescent flesh of the vilest animals, I have been constrained to deliver myself into the hands of a cruel enemy.

" But if this has happened, as I believe it has, from negligence, and not from malice, I here conjure you, if any spark of affection remain in your hearts for me, any reverence for your oaths of allegiance, any remembrance of benefits received from me, never, in any manner, or at any distance of time, to acknowledge as your lord that ungrateful robber, who from a queen has made me a captive slave.

" If ever it shall be told you, that I have constituted him my heir, believe it not; any writings that may be shewn you hold them false, or forced from me against my consent.

" My will is, that you own for your lord Louis Duke of Anjou, not only Provence and my other Ultramontane states, but in this kingdom also, where I have appointed him my heir and champion to revenge this treason and violence. To him, then, go and render obedience. Take no

more thought for me, but to perform my funeral service and pray for my soul.[22] And whosoever of you has most remembrance of my love for your nation, most pity for a Queen fallen into so great calamity, let him avenge my death in arms, or address himself to God in prayer for my soul. This I not only intreat you, but as you are even at this moment still my vassals, I command you."

The Provençals, with bitter tears, excused their seeming negligence, and showing intense grief at her captivity, promised to obey her commands, and returned to their gallies. The count of Caserta returned with them resolved as faithfully to follow her last injunctions as he had followed her fortunes in every vicissitude.[23]

Louis of Anjou embarrassed by the disturbed state of France, on the intelligence of Joanna's captivity, wished to give up the expedition against Naples, but the faithful Provençals refused to acknowledge him, till he should have merited their allegiance by his efforts to avenge her wrongs;[24] and when his premature death disappointed their hopes, the first article of their treaty with his son required that he should swear for himself and his successors, that he would never make peace or truce with the impious and iniquitous traitor,

[22] " Per conto di lei ad altro non pensassero se non a farle il funerale, e a pregar Dio per l'anima sua."—*Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, 12, 301.

[23] Costanzo. [24] Maimbourg.

Charles of Durazzo,[25] but pursue him and his, till he had avenged the wrongs of "their good Queen Jane of holy and glorious memory."[26]

On the departure of the French barons, Durazzo returned to the Queen to hear the result of their conference, when she herself informed him she had performed her last act of sovereignty as honour demanded. Finding he had failed in deluding her into his measures, he resolved to try the effect of harsh treatment, and sent her under a strong guard to the castle of Muro in the Basilicato, a part of his own patrimony, which from its situation was out of the reach of all who might wish to befriend her in her fallen fortunes.

Joanna had scarcely been removed from Naples, till the fickle populace repented of the part they had acted. A tremendous pestilence broke out amongst them which carried off twenty-seven

[25] Maimbourg, lib. II, 152, Schisme d'Occident.

[26] "Dans les articles des conventions faites l'an 1385 entre la Reine Marie et les habitans de la ville d'Arles, dont le premier porte que jamais la Reine Marie, ny le Roy Louis son fils, ny aucuns de leurs successeurs, ne feront paix ny alliance avec cet impie, et inhumain traitre, Charles de Duras; mais qu'ils le poursuivront à outrance pour venger les injures, cruautez et l'etrange mort de la bonne Reine Jeanne, dont la douceur et la bonté seront dans l'eternelle memoir des Provenceaux. C'est ainsi que dit cet article:—

"*De morte Joannæ vindicanda.—Articulus primus.*

"Et primo quod dicti Domini Regina (Maria), et Rex (Lodovicus) ac Comitus promittunt ac jurant pro se et successo-

thousand of the inhabitants, a number that, in the then limited population, was considered a prodigy, and a chastisement expressly sent by heaven to punish their unworthy treatment of so excellent a Queen."[27] The ignorant and superstitious people, terrified by this calamity, when too late, became convinced they had acted wrong in supporting Urban against a sovereign who had deserved so well at their hands.

Most of the principal barons, however, submitted to Charles during the interval which elapsed previous to the arrival of the duke of Anjou. Yet the counts of Ariano, Fondi, and Aversa, still remained in arms, and never could be reduced to pay him obedience; and a multitude of the inferior nobility and gentry deserted their homes and preferred the risk of perpetual exile in following the standard of Louis of Anjou to accepting the free pardon Durazzo offered to all.[28]

In the month of November, Charles and Mar-

ribus in manibus Scindicorum urbis Arlatensis, quod ipsi, scilicet Domini Regina et Rex, aut aliquis eorum, nunquam facient pacem sive concordiam aliquem cum illo nefandissimo et iniquo proditore Carolo de Duracio, qui tam injustè ac violenter captavit, exhæredavit, et spoliavit, bonæ, et recolendæ, et sanctæ memoriæ, Dominam Nostram Reginam Joannam regno Neapolitano, et ejus patrimonio, et ipsam nequissimè, et crudeliter tradidit morti. Imo ipsum et suos in posterum persequentur juxta posse, mortem recolendæ bonæ et sanctæ Dominæ nostræ Reginæ præfatæ vindicando.

[27] Costanzo.

[28] Ibid. vol. ii, p. 54.

garet of Durazzo were solemnly crowned in the cathedral, after having taken the oaths of allegiance to Urban as true Pope, on the Festival of St. Martin.[29]

When Charles was conducted round the city, under the canopy of state, his bridle was held on one side by the duke of Andria, who for a brief space triumphed in the fall of Joanna, and on the other by the count of Conversano, but before six months had elapsed both these nobles were in open rebellion against him.

Knowing the fondness of the Neapolitans for spectacles, the usurper endeavoured by a succession of jousts and feasts, to dissipate a gloomy and silent sadness which overcast Naples on the ruin of Joanna, and, in imitation of the order of knighthood instituted on her coronation, he created that of the Argonauts, which, however, like the first, expired with the founder.

The court vainly endeavoured by banquets and pageants and a display of unusual splendour to restore cheerfulness to the capital. A great portion of the city displayed but uninhabited houses deserted by their owners, in other quarters, the

[29] Sovereigns usually chose some favourite religious festival for such ceremonies. The feast of Pentecost and the Annunciation were those selected by Joanna. St. Catherine of Sienna died towards the close of the year 1380; if she had lived much longer she would have been as formidable an enemy to Durazzo as she had proved to Joanna.

people mourned for the loss of relatives they supposed they had been deprived of by the wrath of heaven, and in the district allotted by the prudence of Joanna to the foreign traders, the activity of commerce had nearly ceased, as they justly anticipated those robberies which Charles, like most of his contemporaries, would not scruple to commit, when pressed for the extraordinary supplies his usurpation would require.

A general assembly of the nation, convened at Naples, gave for a time an appearance of cheerfulness to the city, though all were secretly disquieted by the desire or the dread of change. In this parliament the barons taxed themselves according to the extent of their fiefs, and immediately retired to their territories to raise the stipulated sum, which some collected to fulfil their engagements with Durazzo, but the majority to raise forces against him.

Charles, like other usurpers, endeavoured to satisfy all his partizans, but found it impossible to content any of the ambitious spirits who had supported him. The three counts who had remained in arms for the Queen, were soon joined by those of Lece and Montenovo, and the count of Conversano, (already mentioned as having performed the office of equerry to Charles on his coronation), by the duke of Andria, and the family of Sanseverineschi, though animated by mortal hatred against each other.

The discontent of the duke of Andria was caused by Durazzo's inability to restore all his former possessions, part of which had been purchased from the crown by the family of Marzano. The Sanseverineschi on the other hand, were disgusted because the son of the duke of Andria, their deadly foe, had been married to Agnes, princess of Verona, the elder sister of Margaret of Durazzo, who had been taken in Castel Novo with the Queen.

Dissatisfied at Durazzo's evasion of his promises,[30] Urban made a large promotion of Neapolitan cardinals as a measure preparatory to his deposition, and the son of the duke of Andria, nearer to the crown in the female line, both by his own birth, and in right of his newly-wedded wife, was thought to be the person chosen by the offended Pope to succeed him.

Charles, suspecting that a scheme of this sort was in agitation between the restless Andria and Urban, after having permitted an alliance which alienated from his interest the most powerful family in the kingdom, became fearful of the danger that might result from it, and attempted to seize the person of his new brother-in-law, but De Baux hav-

[30] Charles, to compensate for the non-fulfilment of his own engagements, suffered the clergy who had adhered to the Queen and Clement, to be treated with the most savage cruelty by the Pope's legate, cardinal Gentilis de Sangro, who, however, shortly after perished, the victim of Urban's ferocity.

ing timely intimation of his design, saved himself on board a Genoese vessel. The precipitation of his flight prevented his carrying off the unfortunate Agnes, who, bestowed by the conqueror in the first instance as a captive slave to promote his interests, was finally sacrificed to his jealousy.

The ill-fated princess, with her sister the duchess of Durazzo, and her two young children, were incarcerated in a dungeon, where they all quickly perished from misery and want. By the death of the duchess of Durazzo, Charles, in right of his wife, became the heir of her states, but did not possess them long, as the Venetians seized the principality of Durazzo, to revenge themselves for the spoliation of their merchants in the kingdom of Naples.

During eight months, all the miseries of a harsh captivity were inflicted on Joanna, in hopes that the privations she suffered might subdue her proud spirit to purchase some amelioration of her condition, by the cession of Provence; but constant to her resolution, the only fruits of these measures was a new testament made in prison confirming her former grant to Louis of Anjou.[31]

[31] Les mauvais traitemens faits à cette Princesse pendant sa prison, et le genre de sa mort, sont deduits dans les lettres patentes que la Reine Marie de Blois, mère de Louis II. Roy de Sicile et Comte de Provence, un de ses successeurs, donna en faveur de la ville de Marseille, dont le sommaire est rapporté par le Sieur de Ruffy en son Histoire des Comtes de Provence. —*Bouche*, 393.

She was probably at this period utterly careless of life. As the captive of Durazzo it could possess nothing to make it valuable, and had she been restored to the throne, unceasing cares, struggles, and suspicion awaited her, and measures of severity repugnant to her nature would have been daily necessary.

The appearance of a large naval armament in the Bay of Naples from Provence, was the signal for the consummation of a crime which Charles had not, perhaps, at first contemplated. The duke of Anjou had left Provence with an army of thirty-five thousand knights. The scarcely-concealed enmity of Urban VI threatened a danger of the most imminent kind, and the universal desire for the restoration of Joanna was so evident, that her presence alone seemed necessary to rally all ranks round her standard.

To rid himself of a part of his fears, and to secure to himself at least one ally, Charles granted a base compliance to the embassy of the king of Hungary, who sent at this period to congratulate him on his success, and to demand the death of Joanna, as the reward of his past aid, and the price of his future friendship.

Not daring to trust any Neapolitan to perpetrate the bloody deed, he dispatched four Hungarian soldiers to Muro charged with its execution.

Whether Joanna was, from any peculiar circum-

stance, led to suspect that the crisis of her fate was at hand, is unknown; but immediately before the time secretly appointed for her death, she made so powerful an appeal to Charles to spare the life of Otho, that he yielded to her intercession, and probably as some sort of reparation of his offences to her, treated him well, and finally restored him to liberty.[32]

In the days of her most brilliant prosperity, Joanna had been remarkable for her constant attention to religious observances,[33] and probably in the hour of her bitter reverse of fortune they constituted her only consolation. At stated hours she performed her devotions alone in the chapel of the castle; on the morning of the twenty-second of May she repaired as usual to the sacred spot, and while she knelt before the altar, imploring forgiveness at the throne of grace for her past offences, whatever they might have been, the Hungarian soldiers secretly entered, and whilst two of them guarded the door, the other two passed a silk cord round her neck and instantly strangled her.[34]

[32] "Sur sa fin elle implora et interceda tellement pour lui qu'il eut l'ame sauve, et la pauvrette souffrit la mort."—*Brantome.*

[33] Fu Giovanna come la qualifica Angelo da Perugia religiosissima.—*Giannone*, lib. 23.

[34] Historians differ as to the manner of Joanna's assassination, but the above is the account given by Maimbourg and

Her body, by order of Durazzo, was brought to Naples, and for eight days exposed to the gaze of the populace in the church of St. Claire, that her partizans, by the contemplation of the last sad remains of departed royalty, might be convinced that all further efforts against him were vain. But this had not the effect he intended, for those who had been attached to the murdered queen were exasperated beyond recall, and many who had been before indifferent in her cause, were moved to compassion by her unmerited sufferings, and generously indignant at the cruelty and perfidy of Durazzo, refused to submit to the rule of one whom no benefits could attach nor any duty restrain.[35]

"Thus," says Costanzo, "perished queen Joanna, a most rare and noble lady, even if we admit the

others, from the works of Theodoric Niem, secretary to Urban the Sixth, who was at aples during the time her remains were exposed to public view in the Church of St. Claire.

[35] She was interred between the tomb of her father and the sacristy.—*Giannone.* "J'ai veu sa sepulture dans Sainct Claire à Naples que les Dames et saintes religieuses du Monastère revérent et honorent fort, et font de belles et saintes prières pour son ame, la louant fort, en la mettant au rang des sages bonnes et vertueuses princesses de la Chrétienté.

Ainsi qu'on lit dans l'histoire d'Anjou où il est dit qu'estant ce grand Schisme de l'Eglise nuisible pour toute la Chrétienté, entre autres princes qui tinrent pour Clement estoit le Roi de France, ses frères, la bonne Reyne Joanne de Sicile et de Naples la nommant ainsi—et qu'elle estoit tenue de sainte vie." *Brantome.*

opinion of the vulgar as to the death of Andrew to be just, as during the rest of her life she was never guilty of any unworthy action. She was in justice similar to her father, the duke of Calabria, and so beneficent and liberal, that there was not a piazza in the city of Naples, nor any of the towns and lands subject to the crown where she had not pensioners of both sexes fed by her bounty; and she was wont to say, that those princes acted ill who favoured and enriched some individuals to leave the majority in want, but preferred giving moderately to many, to giving profusely to a few.

"She was the zealous friend of all the worthy, and during her reign, arts, and arms, and letters, and every discipline flourished, especially in the capital, which she not only kept in abundance of all the necessaries of life, but added to the splendour and embellishment of the city by her unceasing cares.

"Commercial industry was the object of her peculiar favour, and as merchants of all nations crowded to her ports she would never suffer any tax to be laid on them, as was usual with sovereigns oppressed by invasion or foreign war. In fine, she was so gracious in speech, so wise in conduct, and so dignified in her manners, that she was truly the heiress of the mind of the great king Robert, her grandfather." "Distinguished for magnanimity and equity, she governed her

dominions with vigour and inflexible justice, and supported the vicissitudes of fortune with unshaken constancy, gentle and moderate in prosperity, prudent and firm in adversity." "What more," says Boccaccio,[36] "would you seek in the wisest monarch? were I to describe all the great qualities of her mind, my discourse would grow to an inconvenient length. I not only esteem her illustrious and resplendent by conspicuous excellence, but the singular pride of Italy, and such as, altogether, no other nation has ever seen her equal."

If we consider the age in which this highly-gifted woman lived, her character will be not less our astonishment than our admiration. The French writers have dwelt chiefly on her unrivalled beauty, her fascinating eloquence, the kindliness of her disposition, and the engaging union of majesty and benignity which marked her countenance and manners, whilst the Italians have been most impressed by the masculine vigour of her mind and the magnanimity of her character. Some secret charm seems to attach to her name, which has incited the historians of Naples and Provence to lavish encomium with affectionate excess on the memory of one so pre-eminently favoured by nature, and so unrelentingly pursued by fortune, persecuted when living, calumniated when dead. If but a part of this

[36] De Mulieribus Claris.

praise be deserved; if, allowing for the enthusiasm of southern climates, we confess but in degree the various merits attributed to Joanna of Sicily by the subjects of her divided dominions, we may perhaps even yet accede to the sentence of Boccaccio, and acknowledge, that the union of clemency and justice, of suavity and dignity, of feminine graces and masculine ability, which her character presented, is still unequalled.

CONCLUSION.

THE compact between Charles Durazzo and Urban VI ended, as the alliances of villains invariably terminate, in mutual hatred and injury; their quarrels and disastrous fate may be told in the compass of a few pages, and though the task of the biographer of Joanna of Sicily is now properly at an end, yet the relation of the conduct they pursued after her assassination, is in some degree necessary to the vindication of her fame, as a just estimate of their characters, cannot otherwise be formed.

The short interval which elapsed between the murder of Joanna, and the entrance of the duke of Anjou into the kingdom of Naples, was employed by Durazzo in laying the country waste, and forcing the peasants to carry their corn and provisions into fortified towns and castles, which he garrisoned chiefly with the free companies in his pay.[1] Resolving to avoid a general engagement, he reserved but a small force for the open field, which he kept in the immediate vicinity of Naples to overawe the capital.

[1] Maimbourg.

Towards the close of summer, the duke of Anjou arrived at Aquila, at the head of the finest army which had been seen in Italy in that age. Its numbers were estimated at thirty thousand horse, and were soon swelled to seventy-five thousand by the concourse of the nobility of the kingdom;[2] some prompted by dread of his power, some by affection for the memory of their beneficent Queen, and others by horror of the cruelty which had been exercised towards her.[3]

The Angevine forces quickly overran the greater part of the kingdom, penetrated into Taranto and Apulia, and occupied even the Terra di Lavoro in the neighbourhood of Naples; but Charles, contenting himself with protecting the capital, acted strictly on the defensive, and the scarcity of forage obliged Louis, towards winter, to retire to the fertile plains of Apulia, purposing to re-cross the Appennines in spring.

On the approach of the French army, the principal towns, in the vicinity of Rome, had declared against Urban. The Romans themselves, disgusted by his violence, and harassed by the continual incursions of the Clementine party, resolved to deliver him up to his enemies on his return from his summer residence at Tivoli. The Pope, however, aware of his danger, would not trust himself within the walls of the city; but instead of seeking an asylum in some of the friendly

[2] Costanzo. [3] Bouche.

states of the north of Italy, took the hazardous resolution of establishing his court at Naples, not so much for his personal security, as to force Charles, by his influence with the people at this critical juncture, to fulfil the conditions on which he had granted him the investiture of the kingdom. The cardinals vainly represented the danger of putting himself into the power of his faithless ally, and as vainly represented their own inability to accompany him, from their extreme poverty. Urban treated their refusal as rebellion, published a violent bull against them, threatened to proceed to extremities if they persisted in opposing his wishes, and at last, to the astonishment of all men, succeeded, as if by miracle, in conducting his whole court, without any military escort, through a country filled with towns and castles garrisoned by the Clementine troops.

The arrival of the turbulent pontiff at the head of some twenty or thirty priests, struck Charles with more dismay than that of the duke of Anjou, with as many thousand of the bravest and noblest warriors of Europe. On the retreat of the main body of the duke's army, he had left Naples to cut of the retreat of straggling parties, and to dispossess the garrisons of those places which the enemy had got possession of in the vicinity of that city; but on the news of Urban's approach, he abandoned all other cares, and hastened to

meet him at Aversa, as he could not with safety have resorted to measures of intimidation in the capital itself.

Notwithstanding the habitual placidity which marked the ordinary demeanor of Charles, and appeared in his measured step, and deliberate enunciation, he could not so far command the secret disquietude of his mind, as to receive his unwelcome visitor with the customary marks of respect. Urban alighted at a small chapel near the gate of Aversa to array himself in his pontifical robes, expecting Charles to meet him in solemn procession, but the latter, unwilling to attract the notice of the populace by any display of magnificence, habited in black, without any pomp of equipage or attendants, and the better to conceal the object of his important excursion, had even abandoned the high way, and rode across the vineyards from Naples to Aversa. The simple peasants of the scattered fields, crowded round the wretch who called himself the vice-gerent of heaven, and prostrated themselves three times on the ground, before they would presume to kiss his foot, but Charles, hating and despising him as the mercenary author of all his crimes and perplexities, deigned him nothing more than a simple salute, and taking his bridle, not as a mark of honour, but to secure his person, led him into Aversa.

For a few hours he permitted him to inhabit

the Episcopal palace, but in the evening, when the rustics had retired to their homes and the gates of the town were secured, he sent to *invite* him to the royal castle as affording more fitting accommodation. On the refusal of Urban, the officers of Durazzo proceeded to compel him by force, and heedless of his imprecations, brought him to the castle in a transport of fury, excommunicating every one to the right and left as he passed along. The gates were closed on his entrance, and no communication was suffered without for five days, during which time Durazzo compelled Urban to revoke the onerous conditions on which he had granted the investiture, and then, leaving him in safe custody, proceeded to Naples to prepare for his solemn entry.

On the following day he was conducted to Naples escorted by a strong body of troops, nominally a guard of honour, and found Charles seated outside the gate, on a splendid throne, dressed in a dalmatic of cloth of gold as a deacon of the church, but wearing his crown and holding the sceptre in one hand and the orb in the other. He suffered the Pope to come close to the throne, before he would testify any consciousness of his approach, when descending the steps, he went through the mockery of kissing his foot, and Urban, bending from his mule, imprinted a kiss on his forehead, which his secret wishes would have endowed with death-dealing poison!

The joy of the Neapolitans, on the entrance of their native Pope, was extreme, and was manifested by the usual draping of the houses and customary signs of rejoicing; Charles, for a short space, performed the office of his equerry, and then resigning Urban's bridle to one on whose resolution he could depend, signified his pleasure that the Pope should honour his own residence of Castel Novo with his presence. The experience of the last few days had convinced Urban that resistance was vain, and concealing the fury which raged in his heart, he suffered himself to be conducted to his temporary prison.

Here a strong guard constantly surrounded him, and though he was permitted to hold his audiences, he was not allowed on any pretext to pass the gates of the palace. This restraint lasted until the continued success of the duke of Anjou, and the exhausted state of Durazzo's finances, obliged him once more to seek the aid of the imprisoned Pope. By the mediation of the cardinals, a fresh treaty was concluded between them. Urban was set free and permitted to hold his court at the Episcopal palace, where Charles descended to the meanness of publicly asking pardon for his past conduct. A revenue of five thousand florins of gold was settled on his nephew, and the principality of Capua, the duchy of Amalfi, the town of Nocera and many other fiefs were once more made over to him, in return for

which, Urban promised to preach a crusade against their common enemy, and to furnish Charles, from the treasures of the church, with something more solid for the support of his army than indulgences and pardons, with which the foreign freebooters in his service were well content to dispense.

Every thing was done to impose on the multitude and give this truce of interest the appearance of a solid peace. Charles and Margaret frequently visited the Pope, and added, by their presence, to the festivities which took place on the marriage of his two nieces with the most powerful of those Neapolitan nobles who still adhered to their cause.

On Christmas-eve Urban performed the Vesper service at the cathedral with Papal solemnities; but whilst he was thus employed, the new prince of Capua (a title hitherto borne only by the sovereign, thinking all things were permissible to the nephew of a pope, broke into a convent of noble ladies, and carried off by force one of the most beautiful of the nuns.[4] His uncle, though severe to an extreme to all others, thought but lightly of *his* crime, excusing him on account of his youth, though upwards of forty years of age at the time! Butillo was, however, condemned to death by the laws, but bargaining for his life with the venal Charles, he purchased it by the final renunciation

[4] Costanzo, Maimbourg, &c.

of the fatal principality of Capua, for which so much misery had been brought on the world.[5]

When this matter was finally settled Urban preached his promised crusade against the Angevine party, appointed Charles standard-bearer of the church, and blessed the banner he held in his hand during the celebration of mass. On the Pope's dealing out his anathemas, however, more liberally than his promised treasures, Charles seized on all the goods of the foreign merchants to eke out the scanty measure of Papal liberality, and distributed them amongst the knights and soldiers of his army.[6]

The return of spring, which Louis of Anjou had hoped would lead him triumphantly to the gates of Naples, brought a pestilential disease into his camp, which swept away great numbers of his followers, whilst the horses of his army were generally reduced to a state of weakness from the want of

[5] "Andò per cio in nullo il processo. Butillo fu messo in possesso de gli stati suddetti, e il Papa conchiuse ancora il maritaggio di due sue Nipote con due de' primi Baroni. Queste erano le grandi applicazioni del Pontefice."—*Muratori, Annali d'Italia,* vol. xii. 306.

[6] The Venetians, in revenge of this robbery and others committed by Charles and Margaret, seized on the states of Durazzo, and the Genoese aided Urban in his contests with them.

The finances of Louis of Anjou were also so much reduced at this period that he wore a linen surcoat with his arms painted on it.

forage. Charles thinking his force now sufficient to cope with his rival, assembled all the troops he could collect at Barletta, from whence he sent a challenge to Louis to meet him in five days at Quarata for a general engagement. Louis, overjoyed at the prospect of at last accomplishing what he had so long desired, replied that he would not trouble him to come so far, but would seek him under the walls of Barletta.

The heralds sent by Charles on this mission, probably brought him back a report of the enemy's army far different from what he had expected to hear, for his spirit quailed at the bold reply of his adversary, and recollecting that he must engage not only the flower of the French chivalry but all the veteran barons of the kingdom that hung on the fate of the day, he determined to forfeit his battle-gage and continue as before, to shun a pitched battle and trust to the effects of the climate and a desultory warfare.[7]

When, therefore, the appointed day came, he led his troops round the walls of Barletta, issuing from one gate and re-entering by another, before the enemy could advance to attack him.

Some of his followers, however, thinking their personal honour compromised by this proceeding, spurred off and challenged an equal number of their adversaries, and so many joined on one side and the other that it was with the utmost

[7] Costanzo.

difficulty he could prevent a general engagement taking place.

This day, however, was not wholly fruitless to Louis of Anjou; whilst Durazzo passed round the walls of Barletta, Raimond Ursino, count of Nola, effected his escape from the castle and went over to the enemy's camp. This baron, by his extraordinary valour and ability had done much to check the progress of the duke of Anjou, and when in captivity, neither bribes nor threats could draw him from the party he supported; but Charles thinking he had exceeded the just limits of his authority in his government had thrown him into prison on his arrival at Barletta, and his indignation at this treatment produced a change which neither bribery nor fear could effect. The example of Ursino was followed by a considerable body of troops who joined him the day after his flight, and Louis happy in such an acquisition to his party, loaded him with benefits and united him to one of the noblest heiresses of France.

Hopeless of provoking Charles to an engagement, Louis drew off his forces to Bari, and shortly after died of a fever, caught in endeavouring to prevent the sack of Biseglia to which he had been invited by a party of the inhabitants who had been ill-used by the soldiers of Durazzo.[8]

During the last illness of the duke, the fortunes

[8] Costanzo.

of the rivals seemed to be weighed as it were in a balance, for the life of Durazzo was despaired of at the same moment, and he was reported to be actually dead of a contagious disorder in which the sick, says Costanzo, shed their skins like serpents.[9] On his recovery he found his opponent had descended to that tomb from which he had so narrowly escaped. Impressed with awe at the circumstance, he manifested no outward sign of his secret satisfaction, but celebrated the funeral service of his valiant adversary with the utmost solemnity, and, with his whole court, wore the customary mourning for thirty-five days.

During the sickness of Charles, Urban had withdrawn from Naples to Nocera, one of the towns given to his nephew, and establishing his court in the fortified castle, employed himself in raising a party against him strong enough to drive him from the throne, if the death of Clement VII should induce the heirs of the duke of Anjou to accept the investiture at his hands.

Charles, therefore, determined either to force the Pope to leave the kingdom, or to keep him in virtual captivity at Naples, and hastening to the capital, sent him rather a summons than a request, to return to confer with him on matters of importance. Urban in the same haughty strain admonishing him, that it was the duty of

[9] Probably the scarlet maligna.

the vassal to seek his liege, of a Christian king to throw himself at the feet of his spiritual lord, declared he would grant him audience at Nocera only, and that if he desired to retain his friendship he must alter his conduct and relieve the people from the burthens under which they laboured, as he had set him up to govern with moderation, but not to oppress his subjects with intolerable imposts. Charles, to mark his contempt of the Pope in a public manner, doubled the taxes, and sent him an order to concern himself in future only with the government of his priests, and to interfere no more in the affairs of a kingdom he held by conquest and hereditary right, to obtain which he had received from him only four words on parchment.

The insolence and ingratitude of his rebellious creature so irritated the furious temper of Urban, that his violence became intolerable to those who surrounded him. Such of the cardinals as could effect their escape from Nocera, sought an asylum at Naples, and in conjunction with cardinal Rieti, who had for some time resided there, entered into an agreement to force Urban to act as all other popes had hitherto done, by the advice of his council, and not according to the dictates of his own infuriate passions; and proposed placing curators appointed by the Sacred College to control the power he so much abused.

An intercepted letter in cipher, from Rieti to

the cardinals at Nocera, unfortunately betrayed this plot before it was ripe for execution. Urban immediately seized on the six cardinals he most suspected or hated, and vented on them all the bitterness of his wrath. These unfortunate men were loaded with chains and confined in dungeons, so low and narrow they could neither stand erect nor lie at length; from these cells they were taken out from time to time to be tortured in the most horrible manner, and whilst the commissioners appointed to interrogate them, with tears besought for mercy on them, the savage Butillo derided their torments with fiend-like laughter and taunting jests. No confession, however, of any crime against the Pope could be extorted from them. Adam Aston, the cardinal of London, for whom his sovereign had procured his luckless promotion in reward of his eminent merit, confessed only, that he had said the Pope was too haughty, and treated those around him with intolerable arrogance. Cardinal Gentilis de Sangro, when on the rack, acknowledged the justice of God in punishing him for the cruelty he had exercised towards the Clementine clergy of Naples, at the instigation of Urban. One instance of Urban's ferocity is unparalleled even in the history of Nero! among the victims of his cruelty was Louis Donato, cardinal of Venice, more honourably distinguished still as the friend of Petrarch, a title synonymous with learning and

virtue. At the age of eighty-two he was repeatedly tortured from morning till noon. On one occasion, Urban ordered him to be tormented in the dungeon of the castle till his cries should reach him as he walked in the garden reading his breviary! The venerable martyr however only ejaculated in the words of St. Peter, "*Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example.*" After these horrible scenes, the unfortunate sufferers were taken back to their cells, to "suffer hunger and thirst and all the other miseries of imprisonment."[10]

In a consistory held on the first of January (1385), Urban degraded these unhappy men from their rank, and to strengthen his party by new promotions, made six German and nine Neapolitan cardinals in their room. The latter, however, feared to incur the displeasure of Durazzo by assuming the ensigns of their dignity, and the former refused it altogether, conceiving the Sacred College degraded by the conduct of its chief though they had adhered to his side in the schism of the church.[11]

When the consistory was over, the Pope, against the remonstrances of his friends and counsellors,

[10] "Furono rimessi nelle carceri coll' ossa slogate a patir fame e sete e gli altri malori della prigionia."—*Annali d'Italia.*

[11] The electoral archbishops, Adolphus of Mayence, Frederic of Cologne, and Conon of Treves, the bishop of Liege, Wenceslaus of Breslau, and Peter of Rosemberg.

who represented the folly of attempting to combat a powerful enemy with no other weapon than the bell he used in his excommunications, proceeded to declare open war against Charles and Margaret. Assembling all the inhabitants of Nocera, he accused them of having conspired against his life, pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication against both, and laid the kingdom under an interdict.

A few days after, Charles appeared before Nocera at the head of a strong body of troops, to answer, as he said, the Pope's citation in person. He took possession of the town and the neighbouring fortresses granted to Butillo, and left his sworn foe, cardinal Rieti, to conduct the siege of the castle. Urban appeared three times a day at the windows of one of the turrets to excommunicate the besieging army, with the usual ceremony of extinguishing the tapers at the conclusion of his anathemas, whilst Charles replied to them, by proclaiming by sound of trumpet a large reward to whomsoever would deliver the Pope into his hands. Emulating him in ferocity, he retorted the cruelties practised on the cardinals at Nocera, on such of the clergy as dared to act on the interdict; putting some to the rack, and drowning others in the bay of Naples.

The inhabitants of the capital still adhering to their native Pope, supplicated Charles in his favour, who consented once more to treat with him,

promising to ratify any agreement the deputies of the city and nobility should make for him, but their mediation proved fruitless. Urban relying on the assurances of a party of the barons who promised to rise in his favour, would hearken to no accommodation. Finding, however, that these secret friends were unable to effect his release, when the garrison of the castle was on the point of yielding from famine, he adopted the bold resolution of applying to the Angevine party to deliver him from the hands of the man whom he had so lately endeavoured to force them to receive as king by dint of anathemas and crusades.

On the death of the duke of Anjou, the major part of his army, having no acknowledged chief to subsidize or command them, retired from Italy, but numbers still remained in the service of the barons who refused to yield to the usurper. The count of Nola, from the period of his escape from Barletta, was amongst the most active of these nobles, and Urban found means to negociate with him for his delivery, rightly judging that he would gladly avail himself of an opportunity of revenging the injuries he had received from Charles. At the head of eight hundred horse, Ursino, with desperate bravery, forced his way through every obstacle into the castle of Nocera, and though he was wounded in the foot, returned immediately to Apulia to persuade Thomas Sanseverinesco to bring a sufficient force to carry off

Urban to the shores of the Adriatic sea, where some Genoese galleys hovered along the coast to favour his escape. Sanseverinesco, believing he could in no way injure Charles so much as by setting his implacable enemy free, quickly appeared before Nocera with an escort of three thousand horse, and surmounting incredible difficulties, finally succeeded in embarking the whole papal court on board the Genoese galleys. For this service Urban gave his hostile deliverers ten thousand florins of gold, the town of Benevento, and the barony of Flumario containing eighteen castles.

But in every extremity of difficulty or danger, true to the ferocity of his character, he would not consent amidst all the hazard and precipitation of his flight, to resign the victims of his cruelty. The cardinals, enfeebled by imprisonment, insufficient food and torture, were dragged along in his train, more dead than alive. The bishop of Aquiola, more fortunate than his unhappy fellow-sufferers, was unable to keep up with the speed of the rest of the cavalcade, and Urban put an end to his miseries by ordering him to be dispatched on the spot, leaving his body on the highway uninterred.[12]

[12] "Perche il Vescovo suddetto, malconcio per gli sofferti tormenti e pel cattivo cavallo, era lento nel viaggio, Urbano sospettando malizioso il suo ritardo riscaldòsi così forte che il fece uccidere lasciandolo senza sepoltura nella via. Oh, tempi! oh, costumi! Non si puo far di meno di non exclamare!"—*Muratori.*

On their arrival at Genoa the cardinals were imprisoned as at Nocera; every intercession was vainly made for them; they were kept in that city for six months in chains, fed only on bread and water, at the end of which time, as Urban was about to leave Genoa and it was found inconvenient to carry them about from place to place, five of the number were beheaded in their dungeons, and their bodies conveyed to his stables to be consumed with quick lime. Adam Aston escaped with a mere remnant of life, at the request of Richard the Second, who Urban feared would declare against him should he reject his intercession. Two of his cardinals, who had till this period been amongst his most zealous and attached friends, dreading his vindictive temper, left him at Genoa and joined Clement the Seventh at Avignon, the cardinal of Ravenna burning the hat he had received from him in the market-place of Pavia, to mark his detestation of his atrocious conduct in a public manner.[13]

It might be supposed, that Durazzo, having successively got rid of two such powerful enemies

[13] On the death of Urban, this cardinal, who hated the iniquity of this Pope, and the nation of the other, returned to his Italian successor, whence he was called in derision, cardinal Trecapelli, the Cardinal of the Three Hats.

Collenuccio, for whom no transaction is sufficiently atrocious, without some addition of his own invention, declares that to intimidate his enemies the Pope had the bodies of the Cardinals dried in an oven, powdered, and carried with their hats on mules before him.

as Louis of Anjou and Urban, would not have tempted his fortune further, but would have occupied himself in securing what he had already gained, in subduing his domestic enemies by force, or winning them over from the other party by measures of conciliation.

His ambition, however, was become insatiable, and having once overcome the obligations of gratitude and duty, was not to be restrained by the feeble dictates of prudence, but having gained the uncontrolled dominion of his soul, urged him on to his destruction, by an attempt to act over again in Hungary, the part he had acted in Naples.

Louis of Hungary had died almost immediately after he had witnessed the consummation of his long-retarded vengeance against Joanna, and the ungrateful assassin he had armed against her, took the first moment he could command to deprive his daughter of her crown and liberty; her life we may well believe would have lasted, like that of Joanna, only till his jealous fears required the sacrifice, had not her mother found the means of inflicting the punishment justly merited by that conduct she had in conjunction with her husband first incited him to pursue.

On the death of Louis,[14] his daughter Maria had been in respect to his memory elected to the crown, and proclaimed, not Queen but *King*,[15]

[14] 1382.

[15] The *Queens* of Hungary, in their own right, have been

and his widow appointed regent of the kingdom. But, notwithstanding this notable device of a masculine appellation, the turbulent Hungarians soon became discontented and restless under a female sovereign, and some of the factious barons sent a secret invitation to Durazzo to assume the crown, as the male heir of Charles II.

His struggles first with the duke of Anjou, and then with Urban, had hitherto detained him in the kingdom of Naples, but in less than a month after the escape of the latter, he set out for Hungary, regardless of the tears and entreaties of his wife and the advice of his friends.[16]

He took with him but a small retinue, to deprive the Queen of Hungary of any excuse for not receiving him amicably in the first instance, and to give his election the appearance of the free choice of the nation at large. The chief conspirators met him at Zagravia, where they prepared their measures previously to his entering Buda, the seat of government. Their intrigues drew over to his side many who were strongly attached to the family of the late king, by persuading them that his only object was, to procure the marriage of Maria with his son Ladislaus, an union much more popular than that projected for her with Sigismond, king of Bohemia.

thus whimsically entitled from that period. Every reader will recollect the exclamation of the Hungarian diet, when Maria Theresa appeared amongst them with her child in her arms, "Long live our king Maria Theresa!"

[16] Sept. 1384. Costanzo.

The Queen Regent, however, who was perfectly aware of all these machinations, sent secretly for Sigismond, and married him to her daughter, sending him out of the kingdom immediately after the nuptials with as much precipitation as he had entered it; and he returned to Bohemia to collect an army for the defence of his bride.

This hasty marriage defeated an important part of the designs of Charles, who, as father-in-law of the young Queen, would have governed her states under a plausible title; but he was not to be deterred from his attempt by any obstacle, and proceeded to Buda in seeming amity, declaring he was come as the friend of Maria, in gratitude to the memory of the late king, to assist the Queen Regent to allay the troubles of the kingdom. Elizabeth, mistress of the art of dissimulation, received his professions in good part, and thanked him for such an extraordinary instance of friendship and of filial gratitude towards her deceased husband, who had ever treated him as his son!

The intrigues of his partisans soon made Charles governor of the kingdom, and incited the populace to desire him as king. A tumult was excited in the capital by the conspirators, and Durazzo, under pretext of protecting the Queens, placed his own guards in the royal castle, when presenting himself to the populace at an opportune moment, the title he coveted was by general acclamation bestowed upon him, and at his sugges-

tion deputies were sent to demand the regalia from the Regent and her daughter.

Maria, with the generous frankness of youth, refused to give the sanction of her own consent to her deposition, and besought the nobles, by the memory of her father, and by those vows of allegiance they had so lately taken to herself, to grant her at least her liberty, though they seized her crown, and to conduct her in safety to her husband. Elizabeth with more prudence asked some short space for deliberation, promising to use her influence with her daughter to yield to their wishes; when the deputies retired, a shriek of sorrow was sent forth by all the inhabitants of the castle, which was heard to a considerable distance, and made the fickle multitude already repent of their undertaking.[16]

The prayers and earnest entreaties of Elizabeth at last induced her daughter to consent to temporize; leaving Maria in a paroxysm of tears, she presented the regalia herself to Charles, assuring him that Maria was, on reflection, convinced of her inability to wield a sceptre which could be placed in no fitter hand than his, asking her liberty only, as the reward of her willing renunciation. Charles replied, that they should depart freely, and bear with them the jewels and treasures of the crown, and that he should ever continue to consider Elizabeth as his mother and Maria as his sister!

[16] Costanzo.

The artful Elizabeth carried her dissimulation so far as even to bring her daughter to attend his coronation, where her appearance excited such general commiseration amongst the spectators, that when the arch-bishop of Strigonia asked, according to custom, if they would have Charles for their king, few replied at the first and second interrogation, and none but two or three of the conspirators at the third. On leaving the church the standard-bearer neglected to lower the sacred banner of St. Stephen, which was broken against the architrave, and the time-worn silk was rent in pieces. A number of houses were thrown down by a violent tempest, and the vivid flashes of lightning which burst athwart the gloom of the winter sky, were regarded as messengers of the wrath of heaven, whilst a prodigious flight of crows which filled the halls of the palace of the ancient kings, by their ill-omened cries completed the dismay of the credulous populace. Little more was wanting to alienate their affections from their newly-elected sovereign, and in the space of a few days they again eagerly desired the restoration of their young queen.

Encouraged by this return of popular favour, Nicholas Gara, the faithful servant of the two queens, who had continued near them in every emergency, when deserted by all the other courtiers of the late king, proposed to them to assassinate the intruder, and promised to provide the

executioner if they would procure the opportunity. Maria, lately so generous, and so noble, was by hard necessity become a proficient in fraud, and consented to lend her aid to delude her enemy into her apartment to be butchered under her eyes. However necessary as a measure of self-preservation, there is something peculiarly horrible in the circumstance. The Salic law was, in this barbarous age, a wise and necessary institution, for a female could scarcely hope to keep a throne, who would scruple to take off by force or fraud the pretenders who continually assailed it.

Lulled into a fatal security by the seemingly cheerful resignation of the young queen, Charles came to her apartment at her request to negociate for her liberty. Nicholas Gara, and Forgiac Brasio, an Hungarian of remarkable strength and courage, entered by a secret door, and whilst he was reading a letter from Sigismond of Bohemia, felled him to the earth by a single blow of a sabre. The Italians in the antichamber entered at the groan which burst from Charles as he fell, but seeing him weltering in his blood, they fled at the unexpected spectacle, and Forgiac rushing out with his bloody sword raised the populace in favour of the queens, and secured the castle by guards devoted to their cause.

Charles still living was carried to his own residence amidst cries of "death to the tyrant!" He

was suffered to linger two days, and as he then gave signs of recovery he was at last smothered.

If, during this interval, the wretched prince retained any sense, how horrible must have been his reflexions—how agonizing his repentance of that conduct towards Joanna, which the evil counsels of this very Elizabeth of Hungary and her husband had incited him to pursue. He was originally endowed with all the qualities which would have formed a great king, and but for the acts of cruelty and violence which his usurpation of the crown of Naples drove him into, would have been generally beloved and esteemed. The peaceful succession, which the course of nature would have given him in a few years, he had exchanged for a violent usurpation; an honourable reputation, for the infamy of traitor and murderer, to wear the crown, sullied with the blood of his early benefactress and his nearest kindred, but three years, and to perish in the flower of his age by the hands of a hired assassin. And his very remains were denied the rights of Christian burial by the orders of the master villain who had first lured him from the paths of virtue, and finally triumphed in his destruction.[17]

[17] The queen regent buried him with the kings of Hungary, in the cathedral of St. Andrew, but Urban commanded his remains to be taken up and cast, out as he had died under sentence of excommunication. Elizabeth was herself shortly after seized by the governor of Croatia and thrown into a river

"He would, without doubt," says the historian of the Great Schism, "have held a glorious rank amongst the most accomplished princes, had he not dishonoured all his noble qualities by his inordinate ambition—by his extreme ingratitude, and by his perfidy towards his greatest benefactors, more especially towards queen Joanna, who had supplied to him the place of a mother, and whom he so barbarously murdered."[18]

On the death of Durazzo, Urban returned to Rome, where he had been afraid to trust himself during the life of that prince; he continued his enmity to his children, still infatuated by ambitious projects for his nephew whom he at one time hoped to make king of the two Sicilies! but becoming daily more odious to all around him, his death was hastened by poison administered by his domestic servants. As soon as his life was pronounced in danger, he was deserted by all his family, who feared the vengeance of the Romans would be wreaked on them, the moment he breathed his last. "His unworthy and brutal nephew, the cause of so much disorder, by his uncle's

in a sack; and Maria again imprisoned with the intention of sending her to Naples to satiate the revenge of Margaret of Durazzo; but Sigismond of Bohemia, aided by the Venetians, set her free and executed the murderer of her mother—the last of the chain of crimes and punishments produced by the assassination of Andrew of Hungary, forty years before.

[18] Maimbourg.

blind passion for his aggrandizement carried so far as even to endeavour to place him on the throne, fell some time after into the hands of his enemies, who constrained him to purchase his liberty by the sacrifice of all his possessions. The justice of God pursuing him, he at last perished miserably in the waves of the Adriatic Sea, with his mother, his wife, and his children, as they were about to seek an asylum at Venice. Thus the family of Urban, which he had wished to raise so high, were precipitated into the abysses of the unpitying deep and there entirely destroyed, leaving nothing to posterity but an impressive and awful example."[19]

A few words remain to be said of Otho of Brunswick, whose noble character affords a moral relief to the atrocity of those we have been contemplating.

Durazzo had yielded to the earnestness of Joanna's last and only request to spare his life; and two years after her death Otho was set at liberty. When Louis the Second of Anjou approached to manhood, he succeeded in conjunction with Thomas Sanseverinesco, in placing him on the throne. Louis refused to reside at Naples himself, and "Otho, who was remarkable for his moderation"[20] was content to yield to Sanseverinesco the title of viceroy, but could not brook the insolence

[19] Maimbourg. [20] Ibid. 225.

of the count of Montjoy who was shortly after sent from Provence to supersede them both.[21]

In a moment of revenge he joined the other party and expelled Louis the Second from the throne he knew not how to fill. This unnatural alliance could not, however, long subsist, and Otho again seeking the heir of Joanna, found an honourable death in the field of battle in support of his cause.[22]

[21] Des ambassades sont envoyées en Provence à Louis avec supplications de la part des Neapolitains d'aller prendre possession de leur ville, au temps où l'état ne connoissoit point d'autre Roi que lui qui, tant pour la mémoire de Louis premier, son père, grandement cheri de leur bonne Reyne Joanne, que pour la haine qu'ils portoient à Charles de Duras, meurtrier de leur bonne maîtresse et à son fils Ladislaus, seroit reçeu à bras et à cœur ouvert de tous les habitans de la ville de Naples et de tout le Royaume.

La Reine Marie se contentant seulement d'y envoyer, sur quelques galères, qu'elle fit partir du port de Marseille, des troupes et de l'argent pour contenir les uns dans la crainte et les autres dans l'affection, y établissant un viceroy attendant le tems propre où son fils y peut aller en personne y faire les fonctions Royales.—*Maimbourg*, 413.

[22] Bouche, t. 2. 394.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—(p. 59.)

Joanna's Confession.

[From Froissart.]

ALMOST all the circumstances Froissart makes the queen relate are erroneous, and the piece is a curious proof of the confused information the Chroniclers of that age possessed of the transactions of any court but that to which they were attached.

"On the queen's arrival at Fondi, she humbled herself before the Pope, and, having confessed herself to him, related all her affairs to him without disguise, adding, "Holy father, I possess several great and noble inheritances, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria, and the county of Provence. In truth, king Lewis of Sicily, duke of la Puglia and Calabria,[1] my father, during his life-time, acknowledged holding these territories from the church, and taking my hand, on his death-bed, said to me, 'My good child, you are heiress of a very rich and extensive country; and I believe that many princes will endeavour to obtain you for a wife, on account of the handsome territories you will possess. Now, I would recommend to you to follow my advice, which is, to unite yourself with a powerful prince who will be able to

[1] Charles duke of Calabria, who was never king, and who died before Joanna was a year old.

keep your kingdoms in peace, and should it so happen, that through God's will you have not any heirs, yield to whoever may be at the time Pope, all your territories: for king Robert, my father, so charged me on his death-bed, which is the reason, my dear daughter, I advise you so to do, and discharge myself from it.' Holy father, I promised to comply with his wishes, and pledged my faith, in the presence of all who were in the chamber, to fulfil his last request.

" In truth, holy father, after his decease, with the consent of the nobles of Sicily and Naples, I wedded Andrew of Hungary, brother to Lewis, king of Hungary, by whom I had not any children, for he died a young man at Aix, in Provence. After his death they married me to Charles,[2] prince of Taranto, by whom I had a daughter. The king of Hungary seeing that his brother died, made war on my husband, the lord Charles, and took from him la Puglia and Calabria, he also made him prisoner in battle, carried him to Hungary, where he died in confinement.

" After this, with the consent of my nobility, I was united to James, king of Majorca, who went to France for lord Louis de Navarre to come and marry my daughter,[3] but he died on the road. The king of Majorca left me with intention to re-conquer his kingdom of Majorca which the king of Arragon kept from him by force, for he had put his father to death and disinherited the son. I told the king, my husband, that I was sufficiently rich to maintain him in as pompous a style as he should please; but he insisted so much, and gave such plausible reasons for recovering his inheritance, that I consented with a half-willing mind for him to act as he pleased; but on his departure, I particularly enjoined him to go to king Charles of France and explain to him his business, and to follow what he should

[2] Louis of Taranto.

[3] Both Joanna's daughters died in infancy.

advise: this, however, he totally neglected to do, and ill consequences resulted from it, for he went to the prince of Wales, in whom he had greater confidence than in the king of France, who is my relation, and who promised to assist him in his undertaking. However, during the time he was on this expedition, I wrote and sent ambassadors to the king of France, to desire he would send me a nobleman of the blood royal, to whom I might give my daughter, that our territories should not be without heirs. The king of France attended to my proposals, for which I thank him, and sent me his cousin, Robert d'Artois, whom I married to my daughter.[4]

"Holy father, my husband, the king of Majorca, died during his expedition; I then married the lord Otho of Brunswick. The lord Charles Durazzo, seeing that the lord Otho would enjoy my inheritance during my life, made war upon us and took us prisoners in the Castel del Ovo, when the sea was so high that it seemed to cover us, we were all so much frightened that we surrendered ourselves on our lives being spared. The lord Charles detained in prison my husband, myself, my daughter, and her husband, so long that the two last died. We gained our liberty afterwards by a treaty which gave up to him la Puglia and Calabria; and he now looks to inherit Naples, Sicily, and Provence, for which reason he seeks alliances everywhere, and will set aside the rights of the church as soon as I shall be dead, or at least he will do every thing in his power to accomplish it.

"Therefore, holy father, as I wish to acquit myself towards God, you, and the souls of my predecessors, I now place in your hands all the territories which belong to me, of Sicily, Naples, la Puglia, Calabria, and Provence, and give them up to you to dispose of to whomsoever shall be to you the most agreeable, and who shall be able to conquer them from our enemy, Charles Durazzo."

[4] Robert d'Artois was married to Joanna duchess of Durazzo.

Pope Clement heard this speech with pleasure and received the gift in great reverence, replying, "My daughter of Naples, we will take such measures that your territories shall have an heir of your noble and powerful blood, and who shall be fully able to resist all who may wish to oppose him."—*Froissart*, vol. v. 86. *Johnes's Translation.*

No. II.—(p. 82.)

Petrarch's Imitations of the Troubadours.

"Pétrarque parle de ces poëtes avec éloge dans son *Triomphe de l'Amour*. On pretend qu'il leur devoit cette marque de reconnoissance parce qu'ils lui ont été fort utiles dans la composition de ses œuvres Italiennes. Nostradamus l'accuse de les avoir beaucoup pillés; quelques Italiens en conviennent." &c. "On ne peut plus douter de ces larcins depuis que Monsieur de la Curne (St. Palaye) les a decouverts dans les grandes recherches qu'il a faites sur les poëtes Provençaux, dont le public se flatte de jouir bientôt." "Il est certain qu'il fut en commerce avec les poëtes de ce pays là, et que ce commerce a beaucoup contribué à former son goût et à enricher son stile. J'en donnerai milles preuves.

"Les Espagnols accusent aussi Pétrarque d'avoir pillé les pensées, les tours, et même des vers entiers d'un Cavalier de Valence nommé Messen Jordi, qui vivoit au milieu du Treizième siècle. Cette accusation n'est pas sans fondement: on le verra dans ces mémoires. L'historien de Valence,[5] qui l'a formé, pretend que comme les œuvres de ce poëte fameux couroient la Catalogne et la Gascogne il n'est pas étonnant qu'elles soient tombées dans les mains de Pétrarque

[5] *Gaspard Scuolani, Hist. Valen.* t. 1. cap. 14.

pendant qu'il étoit à Lombès, et qu'il en ait fait son profit."—*De Sade*, t. i. 156.

Denina observes that Petrarch also imitated the Arabian poets: " E benchè rammentando ed onorando molti de' Provenzali il Petrarca non faccia menzione alcuna d'altri poeti Francesi, è nondimeno assai probabile che egli ne conoscesse qualcuno; giachè nella raccolta de favolatori trovo pure alcuni componimenti che potrebbero aver somministrato il tema al nostro gran lirico. Quálche idea parimente sembra che egli prendesse dalle poesie Arabiche, sia che le leggesse in originale, ovvero che fossero già passate dall' Arabo nel Provenzale. Uno dei primi sonetti in morte di Laura si direbbe copiato da un simile componimento fatto in morte di Saladino.—*Denina, Vicende della Letteratura*, libro ii. capo xii.

Canzon of Jordi, (alluded to in the above)

[From the Troubadour.]

" Mals è plazer que dins mon cor sentisse
Qu' aura yeû voli é piez noun voli pas,
Dol d'ount yeû vive è gauch d'ount mi mourisse
S'amour non sies deque dounque saras?

" Se sies-tu gauch amb' tu coussi patisse?
E se sies dol amb' tu coussi mi plaz?
Gauch d'ount mi doli e dol d'ount mi gauzisse
S'amour noun sies deque dounque saras?

" Sens teme rès perque souz in eglaz?
E noun hai paz senz teme jamai guera?
Odia hai de yeû e voli als aûtres plaz?

" Noun estreng res é tout lou mounde abraz
Voli sul ciel e noun movi de terra ?
S'amour noun sies deque dounque saras ?"
Gaspard Scuolano, Hist. Valencia, t. i. cap. 14.

Literal Translation.

" Pain and pleasure which I feel in my heart, which now I desire and then wish to shun, sorrow for which I live, and joy by which I die ; if thou art not love what art thou then ?

" If thou art joy, wherefore do I suffer thus ? If thou art grief, wherefore dost thou please me so ? Joy by which I grieve, and grief by which I rejoice, if thou art not love what art thou then ?

" Wherefore without cause of fear do I tremble ? Wherefore removed from war have I no peace ? Wherefore do I hate myself and wish to please others ?

" I cannot firmly hold any thing, and yet I seem to embrace the whole world. I fly through the heavens and yet move not from the earth. If thou art not love what art thou then ?"

Petrarch, Sonnet 102 *and* 104.

S'amor non è ; che dunque e quel ch' io sento ?
Ma s'egli è amor ; per dio che cosa è quale !
Se buona ; ond' è l'effetto aspro e mortale ?
Se ria ; ond' è si dolce ogni tormento ?
S'a mia voglia ardo ; ond' è 'l pianto e 'l lamente ?
S'a mal mio grado ; il lamentar che vale ?

O! viva morte, O! dilettoso male,
Come puoi tanto in me s'io nol consento?
E s'io 'l consento, a gran torto mi doglio,
Fra si contrari venti in frale barca
Mi trovo in alto mar senza governo,
Si lieve di saper, d'error si carca
Ch'i medesmo non so quel ch'io mi voglio,
E tremo a mezza state, ardendo il verno.

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra,
E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son un ghiaccio,
E volo sopra 'l cielo e giaccio in terra,
E nulla stringo e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio, &c.
Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui, &c.

The author of the burlesque coronation of Petrarch ingeniously alludes to the plagiarisms of which that poet has been accused, when he says, "They put on him a pair of gloves of the skin of the otter, as poets are wont to pillage on every side." We must confess that poets are the only licensed thieves, for whatever they can embellish becomes lawfully their own. By this rule, however, Petrarch does not stand acquitted towards Jordi, for certainly the ideas he has spun out into two Sonnets have much more beauty and energy in the simple Provencal. Some, however, maintain that Jordi is the plagiarist and subsequent to Petrarch.

Petrarch's *Triompho d'Amore* is said to be an imitation of "The Palace of Love," by the Troubadour, Anselm Faydit, in this poem Petrarch thus speaks of his Troubadour predecessors:—

Fra tutti il primo Arnaldo Daniello,
Gran maestro d'amor; ch' a la sua terra
Ancor fa onor col suo dir novo et bello.
Eranvi quei ch' amor si leve afferra,

L'un Pietro et l'altro ; e 'l men famoso Arnaldo,
Et quei che fur conquisi con piu guerra.
I'dico l'uno et l'altro Rambaldo,
Che cantò pur Beatrice in Monferrato.
E 'l vecchio Pier d'Alvernia, con Giraldo
Folchetto, ch' a Marsiglia il nome ha dato,
Et a Genova tolto ; et a l'extremo
Cangiò per migliore patria habito et stato.
Gianfre Rudel, ch' usò la vela e 'l remo
A cercar la sua morte ; et quel Guglielmo,
Che per cantar ha 'l fior de suoi dì scemo.
Amerigo, Bernardo, Ugo, et Anselmo,
Et mille altri ne vidi ; a cui la lingua
Lancia, et spada fù sempre, et scudo, et elmo.

Triompho d'Amore, capitol. iv.

No. III.—(p. 141.)

Golden Rose.

" En la statue de pierre blanche de ce Raimond Berenguier, qui est encore en l'Eglise de Saint Jean de Hierusalem, l'on voit que ce prince tient en la main droite une rose, qui lui a été mise, non point pour representer qu'il ait esté impoisonné en flairant une rose, comme quelques uns estiment au rapport de Nostradamus, mais plutost pour representer l'honneur qu'il receut du Pape Innocent IV pour avoir esté par lui honoré de la rose d'or le quatrième dimanche du carême, ainsi qu'asseure la suivant bulle du même Pape ; par laquelle ce Pape, l'an 1250, accorda des indulgences, en consideration de cette rose, à l'Eglise de Saint Sauveur d'Aix, où reposoit le corps de ce Comte, pour estre gaignées à ce quatrième dimanche du carême par tous ceux qui visiteroient cette Eglise et prieroient Dieux pour le repos de l'ame du defunt

Raimond Berenguier, Comte de Provence, qui avoit remis la rose d'or qu'il avoit euë de ce Pape à cette eglise:"

Innocentius Papa IV universis Christi fidelibus præsentes literas inspecturis. Flos pretiosior cunctis opibus, flos inmarcessibilis, flos æternus, cujus pulchritudinem Sol et Luna mirantur, cujus odore fovcntur Angeli, cujus virtute reficitur Religio populi Christiani, videlicet Dei filius, Dominus Jesus Christus, qui de Virgine venustissima, et omnium virtutum floribus insignita, scilicet de gloriosa Maria Virgine ineffabili Sancti Spiritûs operatione processit. Hujus etenim floris amœnitas auri splendorem et balsami fragrantiam superantis, per Rosam designatur Auream, quæ annis singulis in Dominica Quadragesimæ quâ Lætare Jerusalem canitur, ad honorem Divini nominis a Romano Pontifice viventis Dei Vicario deportatur exultante turba fidelium in Rosa hujus Regis etiam gloriam qui suo roseo redemit nos sanguine contemplari. Sanè claræ memoriæ Raimundus, Comes Provinciæ, sedem Apostolicam, quam semper sincero veneratus fuit affectu, nobis Lugdini manentibus personaliter visitavit, cui rosam auream in prædicta dominica, juxta morem Romanorum Pontificum prædecessorum nostrorum, delatam a nobis pro suæ devotionis et fidei puræ mentis in signum dedimus benevolentiæ specialis. Cùm idem Comes Rosam eandem Aquensi Ecclesiæ obtulerit, reverenter, et tandem de hac luce subtractus fuerit sepultus ibidem, universitatem vestram rogamus, et hortamur in Domino, in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum injungentes quòd ad jam dictam Ecclesiam in humilitate spiritûs accedatis, vestrorum veniam delictorum, et pro anima ipsius Comitis Divinæ misericordiæ gratiam petituri. Nos enim de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et Beatorum Petri, et Pauli Apostolorum ejus autoritate confisi, omnibus verè pœnitentibus et confessis, qui ad eandem Ecclesiam in Dominica ipsa causâ devotionis et orationis accesserint

annuatim, annum unum et quadraginta dies de injuncta sibi pœnitentia misericorditer relaxamus. Datum Lugduni, IV Idus April. anno sexto.

No. IV.—(p. 191.)

Prophetic Sentences of MALACHI, *Archbishop of* ARMAGH, *in* 1130. *Published by Frederic Braun, at Frankfort, in* 1711—*With Observations of the Author.*

[The Explanations of the German Printer are between Brackets.]

A. D. 1143.—*Ex castro Tiberis*—CELESTINE II—From the town or castle of Tifernus on the Tiber, "which some call a town of Castles."—*Platina.*

A. D. 1144.—*Inimicus Expulsus*—LUCIUS II—Died of a blow received in a popular commotion.

A. D. 1145.—*Ex magnitudine Montis*—EUGENIUS III—A Roman, "From the greatness of the hills," i. e. the seven hills of Rome.

A. D. 1153.—*Abbas Suburranus* — ANASTATIUS IV — Born in the street of Rome called Suburra (remarkable for having been the residence of Julius Cæsar in his early life) and abbot of St. Rufi.

A. D. 1154. — *De rure albo* — ADRIAN IV — From Albion, the only English Pope.

A. D. 1159.—*Ex ansere custode*—ALEXANDER III.

A. D. 1159.—VICTOR IV.*

* Antipopes.

A. D. 1164.—*Via Transtiberina*—Pascal III*—From Cremona, "beyond the Tiber."

A. D. 1169.—*In Pannonia Fuscia*—Calistus*—An Hungarian.

A. D. 1181.—*Lux in Ostio*—Lucius III—Bishop of Ostia.

A. D. 1185.—*Sus in Cribro*—Urban III—"Patre Johanne egente Cribella."—*Platina*. Cribrum and cribellum meaning much the same thing—probably his father was a sieve-maker.

A. D. 1187.—*Ensis Laurentii*—Gregory VIII.

A. D. 1188.—*De scholaris exhibit*—Clement III—[Was of the class or profession of scholars]—"Patre Johanne cognomento Scholaris."—*Platina*.

A. D. 1198.—*De rure bovensi*—Celestine III.

A. D. 1198.—*Comes Signatus*—Innocent III—[Count of Segna.]

A. D. 1216.—*Canonicus de Latere*—Honorius III—[Canon of St. John Laterensis.]

A. D. 1227.—*Avis Ostiensis*—Gregory IX—Bishop of Ostia.

A. D. 1241.—*Leo Sabinus*—Celestine IV—Cardinal of Sabinus.

A. D. 1243.—*Comes Laurentius*—Innocent IV.

A. D. 1254.—*Signum Ostiense*—Alexander IV—Count of Segna, cardinal of Ostia.

A. D. 1261.—*Hierusalem Campaniæ*—Urban IV—Patriarch of Jerusalem.

A. D. 1265.—*Draco depressus*—Clement IV.

A. D. 1271.—*Angvineus vir*—Gregory X.

A. D. 1276.—*Concionator*—Innocent V.

A. D. 1276.—*Bonus Comes*—Adrian V—A virtuous man.

A. D. 1276.—*Piscator Tuscus*—John XX or XXI—Bishop of Tusculum.

A. D. 1277.—*Rosa Composita*—NICHOLAS III.

A. D. 1281.—*Ex Teloneo liliacei Martini*—MARTIN IV.

A. D. 1285.—*Ex rosa Leonina*—HONORIUS IV.

A. D. 1288.—*Piscis inter escas*—NICOLAS IV.

A. D. 1294.—*Ex eremo Celsus*—CELESTINE V—[Was a hermit.]

A. D. 1294.—*Ex undarum benedictione*—BONIFACE VIII—[Was baptized Benedict, and bore waves or billows in his hereditary coat of arms.]

A. D. 1303.—BENEDICT XI.

A. D. 1305.—*De fossis aquitanicis*—CLEMENT V.

A. D. 1316.—*De Sutore osseo*—JOHN XXII.

A. D. 1327.—*Curvus schismaticus*—NICHOLAS V—[An Antipope.]

A. D. 1334.—*Frigidus Abas*—BENEDICT XII.

A. D. 1342.—*De rosa altrebatensi*—CLEMENT VI.

A. D. 1352.—*De montibus Pammachi*—INNOCENT VI.

A. D. 1362.—*Gallus vicecomes*—URBAN V—A Frenchman.

A. D. 1371.—*Novus de Virgine forti*—GREGORY XI—Cardinal of Santa Maria Nova.

A. D. 1378.—*De inferno prægnanti*—URBAN VI†—Bartholomæus Prægnanus, born in that part of Naples called Hell.

A. D. 1378.—*De cruce apostolica*—CLEMENT VII†—[An antipope.]

A. D. 1389.—*Culus de mixtione*—BONIFACE IX.†

A. D. 1394.—*Luna Cosmedina*—BENEDICT XIII†—Peter Luna, a man of worth and high birth.

A. D. 1404.—*De meliori sidere*—INNOCENT VII.†

A. D. 1406.—*Nauta de ponte nigro*—GREGORY XII†—A Venetian.

† Rival popes in the great schism of the west, terminated by the abdication of Clement VIII, in 1429.

A. D. 1409.—*Flagellum solis*—ALEXANDER V.†

A. D. 1410.—*Servus Sirenæ*—JOHN XXIII.†

A. D. 1417.—*Corona veli aurei*—MARTIN V.†

A. D. 1423.—*Schismas Barchinoninsa*—CLEMENT VIII†—[An antipope]—"Canonicus Barchinonensis."—*Platina.* An antipope set up by the king of Arragon.

A. D. 1431.—*Lupa celestini*—EUGENIUS IV.

A. D. 1439.—*Amator crucis*—[Amadeus, duke of Savoy]

A. D. 1447.—*De modicitate Lunæ*—NICHOLAS V—[Born at Luna, in Tuscany.]

A. D. 1455.—*Bos pascens*—CALISTUS III—[Bore an ox in his shield.]

A. D. 1458.—*De capra albergo*—PIUS II—[Secretary to cardinal Capranica and Albergati—Æneus Sylvius Piccolomini.

A. D. 1464.—*De cervo et leone*—PAUL II—[Bishop of Cervia bore a lion in his shield.]

A. D. 1471.—*Piscator minorita*—Sixtus V or IV—[A brother of the order of Minor Friars, not instituted in the time of Malachi, archbishop of Armagh, was the son of one of the coasters of Genoa who lived by fishing.]

A. D. 1484.—*Precursor Siciliæ*—INNOCENT VIII—[His name was John Baptist, he was a Sicilian subject.] N. B. An error, he was, according to Platina, a Genoese, of low-birth.

A. D. 1492.—*Bos albanus in porta*—ALEXANDER VI—[Cardinal of Albano and Porto, and bears an ox in his shield.]

A. D. 1503.—*De parvo homine*—PIUS III—[Franciscus Piccolomineus; of the family of Piccol Huomini, nephew of Pius II.]

A. D. 1503.—*Frustris Jovis juvabit*—JULIUS II—[His shield bore an oak sacred to Jupiter.]

A. D. 1513.—*De craticula Politiani*—LEO X—[Scholar of Politian.]

A. D. 1522—*Leo florens*—ADRIAN VI — [Son of one Florentinus, whose shield bore a lion.]

A. D. 1523.—*Flos pilei ægri*—CLEMENT VIII or IX—[One of the house of Medici.]

A. D. 1534. — *Hyacinthus medicorum* — PAUL III — [Of the Farnese race, his shield was studded with hyacinths, cardinal of Cosmo and Damiano of the Medici.]

A. D. 1549.—*De corona montana*—JULIUS III—[Called John of the Mount, his arms two crowns on noble trees.]

A. D. 1555.—*Frumentum flaccidum*—MARCELLUS II—[His arms were a horn of corn, he reigned twenty-two days.]

A. D. 1555.—*De fide patri*—PAUL IV — [By name, Peter Caraffa, quitted the archbishopric of Teatono, to lead a a solitary life in the service of God.]

A. D. 1560.—*Æsculapii pharmacum*—PIUS IV—[Of the Medici.]

Twenty Popes, from this period to the time of the German printers, are similarly described; he foretels twenty-two more, and concludes thus: "In the last period of the Roman church, shall Peter II, a Roman, hold the Holy See, and his sheep undergo many troubles; then the city of the Seven Hills shall be annihilated, and the righteous judge appear to select his people," 1711. The Pope just dead (Pius the Seventh) is designated, Peregrinus Apostolicus; his successor, Aquila Rapax, those to come are; 1, Canis et Coluber; 2, Vir Religiosus; 3, De Balneis Hetruriæ; 4, Crux de Cælo; 5, Lumen in Cælo; 6, Ignis ardens; 7, Religio depopulata; 8, Fides intrepida; 9, Pastor Angelicus; 10, Pastor et Nauta; 11, Flos Florum; 12, De medietate Lunæ; 13, De Labore Solis; 14, Gloria Olivæ.

No. V.—(p. 7.)

Challenge of Louis of Taranto to Louis of Hungary.

[From Gravina.]

Et ecce nuntius quidam Tabecta Regis Ludovici latini cum literis ipsius Regis ad dictum regem Hungariæ ambasciator advenit. Quæ litteræ et ambassiata continebant materiam consequentem in summa verborum.

"Vos illustris Hungariæ Rex, qui regnum nostrum invasuri venistis, nos Dei gratia Jerusalem et Siciliæ Rex, ad duellum mutuum requirimus faciendum. Scimus autem quod de personis Cumanorum et aliorum paganorum, quos vobiscum duxistis ad prœlia, si moriantur, velut de canibus non curatis. Nos autem, qui nostrorum militum et armigerorum damna trememus, ne ipsorum aliqui in conflictu deficiant, providimus pro citiori expeditione guerrarum præsentum et regni quiete personaliter prœliare vobiscum. Et ubi alter nostrum in duello deficiat victor superstes Rex sit et Dominus regni hujus. Et ut communiter securè nostrum fiat duellum, elegimus quod ante fiat Parisiis coram Rege Franciæ, aut in civitate Perusii, aut Avenioni, aut in Napoli. Ex his quatuor locis, locus habilior vestræ electioni servetur super quo respondete."

Rex ut audivit literas ita loquentes, convocato suo consilio, properat respondere, et in horum verborum summa rescripsit:—

"Maxime Rex. Videmus et legimus literas vestras nobis noviter destinatas per præsentium portitorem. Et de invocatione duelli complacet valdè nobis: tamen in nullo locorum quem præscribitis, quum non confidimus in illis multiplici ratione. Nam Rex Franciæ avus maternus vester est. Nobis autem licet vinculo sanguinis longavus affinis. Avenionis civi-

tas licet Dom. S. Pontificis nominetur tamen vestræ provinciæ caput est, et in ea Dominium vestrum regnet. Perusium suspectus nobis est locus, quia legationis vestri præfertur, estque communis populi civitas imperio suo rebellis: nec licet majestatem regiam confidere in illis. Si autem Neapolitana civitas sit nobis suspecta, non oportet literis exprimi quam nobis nostris esse rebellem. Vosque sibi sit dominarium in præsenti. Sed si duellum committere placet, vobiscum fiat, si volueritis, in præsentiâ Imperatoris Alamanniæ, qui est superior Dominus, aut in presentiâ Regis Ingilterræ, qui est communis amicus, vel saltem coram Domino Patriarcha Aquiligæ, qui Catholicus est communis. Sed ubi vobis talia loca non placent, sed verba dilatoria viderentur, ad tollendam omnis termini moram ecce brevi erimus cum nostro exercitu apud vos, et ibi sortiemur communiter de factione duelli, ut illud licitè facere valeamus absque obstaculo exercitûs utriusque.—*Gravina.* *Muratori, Script. Rerum Italium*, t. 12.

ASSASSINATION OF ANDREW.*

[From the Notes of De Sade, Mem Petrarque.]

"L'ASSASSINAT du Roi André est un des plus grands évènemens, et des plus singuliers, du quatorzième siècle; et on ne peut en lire le récit sans frémir d'horreur. Qu'auroit dit Pétrarque, qu'on a entendu declamer sur cela avec une énergie singuliere, si on l'avoit accusé d'y avoir contribué? On ne sauroit douter, cependant, qu'il n'y ait un peu influé en procurant l'elargissement du comte de Minervino, que le cardinal Colonne l'avoit chargé de solliciter lorsque le Pape l'envoya à Naples. Le Roi André, en faisant sortir ce comte du chateau de Capoue, où le Roi Robert l'avoit fait enfermer, se rendit extrêmement odieux aux Princes et aux grands seigneurs qu'on accuse de l'avoir assassiné.†

"Je ne connois point de fait historique sur lequel les historiens varient davantage. Ils ne s'accordent ni sur les auteurs, ni sur la cause, les circonstances, et les suites de cette

* See vol. I. page 253, at which place this article should have been referred to.

† The count of Minervino and his brothers fled to the king of Hungary on the death of Andrew, but seem to have had no enmity against *Louis of Taranto*, who was too young at the period of their condemnation to have taken any part against them. On his return from Provence they were amongst the most active of his partizans. This conduct could not have proceeded from fear, as the Hungarian party was much the strongest, the kingdom being filled with their troops, and all the fortresses in their hands.

horrible attentat. Cela m'a paru meriter une discussion particulière; elle ne sera pas tout-à-fait étrangère à la vie de Pétrarque, qui a toujours marqué un grand attachement pour la Reine Jeanne, dont il étoit chapelain."

" Pour ce qui regarde la date de cet évènement, les historiens sont assez d'accord. Ils le placent au 18 Sept. 1345. Je ne connois d'autres remarquable que Tomaso Costo et M. l'Abbé Fleuri, qui se trompent, l'un sur l'année, et l'autre sur le jour. Tomaso Costo dit que ce fut le 18 Sept. 1346. Nostradamus est de son avis; mais Nostradamus, le plus grand faiseur d'anachronismes que je connoisse, ne merite pas qu'on fasse mention de lui.

" Plusieurs auteurs font entrer les princes du sang dans cette affreuse conspiration, à laquelle d'autres disent qu'ils n'eurent point de part.

" J'ai déjà dit qu'ils savoient mauvais gré au Roi Robert, leur oncle, de la préférence qu'il avoit donné sur eux aux princes de Hongrie pour le mariage de ses filles, et qu'ils cherchoient les occasions de se dédommager de cette espece d'injustice. Ce fut ce qui determina Charles de Duras à enlever la princesse Marie, sœur de la Reine Jeanne, et à l'épouser à la faveur d'une dispense que son oncle le cardinal Tailerand surprit du Pape."

" On voit le grand intérêt que ces princes avoient à la mort du Roi André, pour qui d'ailleurs ils se sentoient une antipathie extrême. Charles de Duras, auroit voulu que la reine ne fut pas mariée. Louis de Tarente se flattoit de l'épouser si elle devenoit veuve Cet intérêt, et la façon dont ces Princes vivoient avec André, persuadèrent à tout le monde qu'ils avoient contribué à la mort d'André.

" A l'egard des autres princes du sang, Robert et Philippe de Tarente, Louis et Robert de Duras, on ne sauroit douter de leur innocence.

" Je voudrois bien qu'il me fut aussi aisé de justifier la Reine Jeanne sur ce chapitre. Quel plaisir pour moi si je pouvois laver d'une tâche aussi noire une belle princesse du sang de France, *que son esprit, son equité, sa douceur ont fait adorer de ses sujets ;* la fille du grand Roi Robert, pour qui j'ai une veneration singulière, l'amie de Boccace et de Pétrarque.

" *Si l'affaire devoit être decidée par le suffrage des auteurs anciens et modernes, je plaiderois avec confiance la cause de cette Reine.* Je sais que la plupart des auteurs contemporains disent en propres termes, et sans detour ; la mort d'André est l'ouvrage de sa femme. Mais ces chroniquers étrangers n'ont fait que ramasser des bruits populaires. Pétrarque et Boccace, auteurs d'un plus grand poids, et qui devoient mieux savoir ce qui se passoit dans le royaume de Naples, ont jugé cette Reine innocente. Balde et Ange de Perouse, deux des meilleurs jurisconsultes de ce temps là ont pensè de même.

" Il est vrai que les deux Villani l'ont cru coupable, et leur autorité fait beaucoup d'impression sur moi, parce que je les regarde comme les meilleurs historiens du quatorzième siècle ; mais ils conviennent d'avoir appris les détails de la mort d'André par la bouche d'un Hongrois attaché à ce Prince qui passoit à Florence allant en Hongroie. Avouons de bonne fois que le témoignage des Hongrois doit être regardé comme suspect sur le compte de la Reine Jeanne.

" Tomaso Costo observes, that Villani of Florence related his history of the death of Andrew only on the authority of an Hungarian who had been in the service of that unfortunate prince ; that Petrarch has given a very dishonourable account of the Hungarian barons who had the management of public affairs under Andrew, that if we add to this their hatred of Queen Jane, we shall easily be satisfied that Villani's

account must be very much suspected of falsity."—*Bayle*, art. *Naples*.

" La plupart des historiens modernes ont suivi le torrent des auteurs contemporains, et on ne peut pas leur en faire un crime. Cependant il faut convenir que les historiens de Naples et de Provence les plus estimés se sont déclarés pour l'innocence de la Reine Jeanne, *et j'aurois beau jeu si on pesoit les suffrages au lieu de les compter*. Angelo Costanzo, le meilleur historien de Naples que je connoisse, a cru avec raison suivre le sentiment de Boccace, parce qu'il étoit sur les lieux, et bien à portée de savoir ce qui se passoit. Pandolphe Collenuccio, qui avoit écrit avant lui, s'etoit déclaré contre. Il assure que le mari de Jeanne fut étranglé par son ordre—*Reginæ jussu*. Mais tout le monde convient que son histoire est pleine d'erreurs, et Tomaso Costo, dans ses notes et supplémens observe, que cet auteur étoit trop peu instruit des affaires du Royaume de Naples pour mériter aucune créance. Angelo Costanzo avoit fait la même remarque. ' Collenuccius nostrarum rerum imperitus,' dit le père Giannetasi. Cet historien est à mon gré pour le Royaume de Naples, ce qu'est César Nostradamus pour l'histoire de Provence; aussi fabuleux l'un que l'autre. Quelle difference entre Costanzo et Collenuccio." Collenuccio, says Costanzo, shows himself not less malignant than ridiculous (b. i, 37.) The following comparison between him and Dionysius is ingeniously turned.

" Per questo a me pare che come Diogene Cinico, quando andò a visitare Dionisio, che, cacciato dalla signoria per povertà, s'era fatto maestro di scuola, e trovò che troppo aspramente batteva i suoi scolari, disse: O Dinisio, io ero venuto per rallegrarmi teco, che da Rè che facevi male a molti, fossi fatto maestro di scuola per giovare ad alcuna, ma or mi doglio che se sei stato cattivo Re, sei diventato assai peggior maestro di scuola—così potessero gli amici di Collenuccio condolersi

che egli di *cattivo jurisconsulto* come egli s'intitolava, fosse divenuto *pessimo istorico.*"—*Costanzo, ibid.* 39.

" A l'égard des historiens de Provence (continues de Sade), si Nostradamus a condamné la Reine dans son histoire fabuleux, Bouche et Gaufridi beaucoup mieux instruits que lui ont pris son parti. Voici leurs propres paroles :—' Quelques uns veulent dire que Jeanne même en étoit consentante, mais il n'y a apparence qu'une princesse si bien née et d'un courage si élevé eut consenti à une si lache et si effroyable pensée de faire mourir son mari.—*(Bouche.)* Boccace et Pétrarque qui vivoient de ce temps là défendent sur ce point l'honneur de cette Princesse comme font aussi les plus judicieux écrivains de notre siècle."—De Sade has omitted to notice, that besides the *character* of Joanna, Bouche founds her defence on two strong circumstances the unequivocal assertion of her innocence by Clement VI, and the king of Hungary's neglecting to accuse her in his manifestoes to the Pope and the other princes of Christendom on the murder of his brother.

" Le Pape Clement qui en écrivant au Roi d'Hongrie sur le sujet de cette mort, parlant de Jeanne dit en propres paroles :—*Quant à la mort du prince André elle n'en est ni prevenuë ni convaincuë, moins encore l'a-t'elle confessé.*

Plusieurs imputoient à Jeanne cette mort ; d'autres l'ont imputée à l'ambition des prétendans à la couronne et à la crainte des favoris. Ceux ci semblent avoir mieux raisonné ; car quelle apparence trouve-t'on qu'une princesse de naissance, qui avoit marqué jusques là tant de courage et de grandeur d'âme ait été capable de former un dessein si énorme, qu'elle ait voulu se metter en liberté de choisir un autre époux par une voie si odieuse et si dangereuse pouvant en prendre de bien plus sûres, et de moins d'éclat. Il y a donc lieu de croire que les domestiques furent les seuls coupables de ce crime qu'ils

en firent le projet et l'exécution sans la participation de la reine."—*Gaufridi.*

De Sade, after examining other authors on the subject, asks, "what could have induced Muratori, the man of all others in our times best acquainted with Italian history, to declare it were as easy to wash a blackamoor white, as to clear Joanna of this charge? And why did the king of Hungary continue to pursue the queen with so much implacability and fury. Had he any proofs of her crime which have escaped us, he would have produced them at the tribunal where Jane was judged, and Pope Clement VI would not have said as he always did, that there were only suspicions against the queen—no proof of any sort—no witness to depose against her, and that the guilty had never declared her an accomplice."

De Sade proceeds to state his own opinion, which was that "a princess brought up by the best of kings, beneficent and gentle, beloved by all who approached her, adored by her subjects, could not have formed so horrible a design, but that she was terrified into consenting to it by the representations of the Catanese, the empress of Constantinople, and all who surrounded and who incessantly harassed her mind with the prospect of her friends suffering on the scaffold and herself in chains, as the consequences of the coronation of Andrew." All this is a gratuitous assumption which we may agree to or not as we please, and rests principally, on what is positively false in point of fact, according to the testimony of all who have ever stated the circumstances of Andrew's murder.

"It is impossible," says de De Sade, "that she could be ignorant of a plot *executed* at the door of her chamber by her *relatives*, her friends, her servants *and her lover*." By her lover, Louis of Tarento is here meant; but neither he, nor any one of the royal family were ever said to have assisted in *executing* the

horrible deed, however they have been suspected of wishing or devising it. De Sade concludes with observing that the innocence or guilt of Joanna will ever be an enigma to those who impartially weigh both sides of the question.

" En voilà assez, je pense, sur ce chapître. Je ne finirois pas si j'entreprenois de rassembler tout ce qu'on peut dire pour et contre l'innocence de la reine Joanne. Je crains qu'on ne me reproche d'imiter le soleil de Mars, qui éleve des vapeurs qu'il ne resout pas. Je conviens que tout ce que j'ai dit ne peut aboutir qu'à faire naître des doutes.

" L'innocence de la reine Jeanne sera toujours un énigme pour ceux qui pesent le pour et le contre de bonne foi et sans prévention. Je croirai avoir beaucoup fait si je puis obtenir qu'on ne lire plus dans nos histoires de France: *La fameuse Jeanne reine de Naples, fait étrangler André de Hongrie, son premier mari.*"

Giovanni Villani.

[Given because the evidence of the Governor of Andrew, and of course the strongest case that could be made out against the queen.]

Villani, it is to be observed, does not any where positively assert that the queen was guilty of the death of Andrew; he goes no further than " *it was said*, or *if public report be true*, or *it was openly said*, &c." in this manner he says that the queen, Louis of Taranto, the empress of Constantinople, and duke of Durazzo conspired the destruction of Andrew.

" E dissesi ancora che 'l duca di Durazzo suo fratello l' assentì ch' avea per moglie la sirocchia della moglie acciochè se la prima morisse sanza reda a lui succedesse il reame. Per questi suoi consorti e cugini della casa reale si disse che con ordine della moglie e seguito delli infrascritti

traditori *se vero fù*, come corse la fama piuvicamente ordinarono di fare morire il detto giovane innocente rè Andreasso. Ed essendo il detto rè Andreasso ad Aversa colla moglie al giardino de' Frati del Murrone a diletto e nella camera con la moglie nel letto di notte tempore a dì 18 di Septembre, con ordine e tradimento di suoi ciamberlani e alcuna cameriera (Mabrice, sister of Jacobuzio di Pacie, one of the chamberlains) della moglie a petizione dell' infrascritti traditori il feciono chiamare che si levasse per grandi novelle venute da Napoli. Il quale con conforto della moglie si levò e uscì fuori della camera. E di presente per la cameriera della reina sua moglie li fu riserrata la camera dietro, ed essendo nella sala, Carlo d'Artugio e 'l figliuolo, e 'l conte di Tralizzo e certi de' conti della Leonessa e di quella di Stella e Messer Jacopo Cabano grande maliscalco, il quale si dice a palese ch' avea affare colla reina, e due figliuoli di Messer Pacie da Turpia e Nicola da Mirizzano suoi ciamberlani, fù preso il detto Andreasso e messogli uno capresto alla gola e poi spenzolato dallo sporto della detta sala sopra il giardino, essendo per parte di detti traditori ch' erano in quello preso e tirato pe' piedi tanto che lo strangolarono, credendo sotterarlo nel detto giardino ch' altri nol sapesse; se non ch' una sua cameriera Ungara il sentì e vidde, e cominciò a gridare onde i traditori si fuggirono e lasciarono il corpo morto nel giardino. Tale fù la repente morte del giovane e innocente rè, che non avea se non 19 anni, per li falsi traditori. Fue recato il corpo a Napoli e soppellito co' reali, e la moglie ne fece piccolo lamento a quello ch' ella dovea fare; e quand' elli fù morto, non ne fece romore nè pianto come quella; chè si disse palese e corse la fama ch' ella il fece fare. E uno Messer Niccolo Ungaro, balio del detto rè Andreasso, passando per Firenze che n' andava in Ungheria il disse a nostro fratello, suo grande acconto (friend), a Napoli, per la forma per noi iscritta di sopra,

il qual era uomo degno di fede, e di grande autorità. Onde seguì poi molto male come innanzi si farà menzione. Ma ella, cioe la reina, pur rimase grossa d' infante di sei mesi, o lo intorno."—*G. Villani*, L. 12, cap. 51.

In Chap. 59. of the same book, Villani says that "*The king of Hungary and the king of Poland were afflicted and enraged at the death of Andrew, not so much against the queen his wife, but against the princes of the blood, whose work and treason it appeared to them to be.*" This is not very consistent with what Villani had previously written: "Con ordine della moglie;" nor with the conduct of the Hungarian princes—"Come il rè d' Ungheria e quello di Polonia seppono la vergognosa morte del rè Andreasso loro fratello. *Come addietro facemmo menzione, furono molto tristi e adontati, non tanto contro la reina sua moglie, ma contro a' reali di Puglia loro consorti, parendo loro, che fosse stata LORO opera e tradigione.*"

The fact appears to be, that the guilt of the whole family consisted in their claims to the crown of Naples; and at first Louis supposed the princes more dangerous adversaries than the queen, who, independently of her sex, was but as *one* to many; Andrew's death was seized as a pretext to destroy the whole race.

If we examine the matter candidly we shall acknowledge that there is strong historical evidence in favour of Joanna, and some, perhaps, will think with us, that it far outweighs that against her. The chroniclers of kingdoms or cities, at a distance from the scene of action, cannot be considered as evidence, they would not be received as such on any transaction of the present day, and how much less in an age when the difficulty of communication was so great, and when all political information was transmitted either by word of mouth or by the private letters of individuals. Gravina and Villani seem to

have had better means of information, but are liable to strong objections on the score of party spirit. Villani's account is valuable in one point of view:—it is the very strongest case that could be made out by the governor of Andrew against the queen; and to what does it amount? to surmise only.—Gravina is commonly thought to have been, like Villani, connected with the Hungarian party, yet this is hardly reconcileable with the passage in which he involuntarily betrays that he wrote his account of the death of Andrew from hearsay or imagination, and complains of having been treated as an accomplice in the conspiracy. "What have I sinned in as to the murder of the innocent duke? *I, who compute myself to have been a hundred miles and upwards distant from the city of Aversa when that wretched duke was slain*, even at the city of Gravina whence I am sprung.* Perhaps, I may say that on account of other crimes committed I suffer these ills. Yet, what so great crime have I ever done that I should be spoiled of all my goods, my houses destroyed, banished from my own nation and called a traitor. Yet, perhaps, I have deserved all this for my guilt. Yet what did William, my most excellent brother, deserve? What our common mother, what did my wife, what did my sister do towards the murder of the said duke?" &c.

Surely we cannot put the authority of Villani and Gravina in competition with that of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Petrarch received his information from the bishop of Cavaillon the regent of Naples when the murder occurred, his intimate friend, who could have no motive to conceal the truth from him, whatever language political considerations might induce him to hold to others. Boccaccio was at Naples at the time, acquainted with the whole court and nobility, and of all men, except the actual perpetrators, possessed of the best means of discovering the truth.

* The town of Gravina gave the title of Count to Louis Durazzo.

It is also worthy of observation that none of the contemporaries of the unfortunate Andrew were more impressed with horror at his fate, and each in his own peculiar manner, one in his epistles, the other in an historical tract (De Casibus Virorum Illustrium) exerted his utmost eloquence in deploring his tragical fate, and both have given a favourable representation of his character. Therefore no contempt for him as a reptile that cumbered the earth, no consideration of state policy or expediency rendered them lenient to a crime which some would have pardoned in the *queen* though not in the woman.

One of Gravina's relations is absurdly inconsistent with the account he gives of Joanna's conduct in general. He states that Andrew was so unhappy at Naples that he wrote to his mother to come and take him home, and that she in compliance with his request, came to Naples for the purpose; but that at the entreaty of Joanna, and moved by her winning words, she left him with her, though she had at first feared for his life.

Who can credit that a princess of seventeen disgusted with her husband, desirous of unlimited rule and uncontrolled freedom, should yet, when her husband desired to leave her at perfect liberty both as wife and queen, exert all her persuasive arts to keep him at her side? The one representation is wholly incompatible with the other.

Villani also says that the queen of Hungary visited her daughter-in-law at Naples, but assigns a different date and a different motive for her journey; he states that she brought Andrew *from* Hungary to ascend the throne immediately after the death of Robert. The modern Italian historians do not mention such a journey at either period, though sufficiently important to merit notice; and therefore, as Villani and Gravina contradict each other in all the circumstances, it has not been mentioned in the text.

One other circumstance may tend to shew that Gravina is unworthy of credit, he mistakes the names of the members of the royal family. From the inscription on her tomb, Giannone and Costanzo call the empress of Constantinople Margaret; Gravina calls her *Catherine*—naturally inferring that as she was the heiress of Catherine de Courtenai she must be Catherine also. He calls the prince of Taranto, at the period of Robert's death, Philip—Philip prince of Taranto, the brother of king Robert, had been dead many years, his eldest son and successor was Robert of Taranto, his youngest son was Philip.

Baldus and Angelus of Perugia, the advocates of Joanna's innocence, in conjunction with Petrarch and Boccaccio, were, from the nature of their studies, peculiarly qualified to judge in such a case: what were their means of direct information we cannot say, though we suppose unquestionable, as all historians have cited their testimony as deserving of great weight. If from contemporaries, we proceed to modern historians, we shall find, that with the exception of the rejected Collenuccio and Nostradamus, all the native historians of Naples and Provence have maintained the innocence of Joanna. It is a curious circumstance, that foreigners have almost invariably followed these two writers with regard to this queen, though they pronounce them, on other subjects, unworthy of credit, and below criticism, in preference to historians of unquestioned fidelity, and holding a high place in the ranks of literature. We fear this is a fresh proof that the human mind loves slander, and unwillingly parts with any dark tale which has once been presented to its depraved appetite.

But independently of historical evidence in favour of Joanna, we have no hesitation in acquitting her of all participation in the murder of Andrew, on the following considerations:—

First, because we conceive it impossible that any woman of

eighteen years of age, on the eve of becoming a mother, a period and an age when the heart is open to all the softest emotions of tenderness, who had not been inured to cruelty, either by witnessing or practising it, could be found so steeled to every emotion of pity, as to have her unsuspecting husband awoke from his slumbers at her side, to have him unpitiably murdered within a short distance of her chamber; if we think thus of the sex in general, how much less shall we suspect one whose manners and disposition were all kindness and gentleness (*douce et bonne* are epithets constantly united by the French writers to the name of Jane of Naples), who was subject to no habitual transports of temper, no furious bursts of passion, that might with a degree of temporary insanity have hurried her on to deeds of violence, inconsistent with the dictates of her cooler reason and better feelings.

Secondly, no woman of common understanding (and the abilities of Joanna have never been disputed, even Collenuccio bearing testimony to the high reputation she had obtained for prudence and wisdom) would have chosen such a period for the commission of so revolting a crime. On the eve of her coronation, when she would have received the oaths of allegiance of her assembled subjects, had she not chosen to mark herself out in so violent and scandalous a manner as the object of their detestation. If Joanna had wished to rid herself of Andrew, surrounded as he was by secret enemies, she might by poison or other means have accomplished his destruction at a time, and in a manner that would have screened her from the odium of the deed, and had those who hated him had any hopes of her consent they would not have been driven by a sudden impulse of despair to act as they did, but would have contrived the deed more cunningly, and with less danger to themselves.

Thirdly, if any woman could be found at once so wicked

and so foolish, can we believe that at twenty she could further be so hardened to the power of remorse, as publicly, voluntarily to depart from customary forms and plead her own defence, and enter into all the circumstances of her crime. No! had the superstitious Joanna, educated by parents who died in the conventual habit, herself the foundress of churches and convents innumerable, been guilty of the murder of her husband, she would naturally have concluded that the misfortunes which followed that event were caused by the wrath of heaven as the punishment of her crime; the form of the murdered Andrew would, to her imagination, have filled the Papal throne when she dared to brave the vengeance of heaven by enumerating the circumstances of his death in the presence of Him whom she believed to be the vicegerent of heaven:—trembling and confused she would have convicted herself.

Those who have accused Joanna of the murder of Andrew have also impeached her reputation at the same period in another respect. If propriety admitted of the discussion here, it might not be difficult to demonstrate the absurdity and inconsistency of their accusations, almost all her nobility, and each of her cousins have by some author or other been named as her lover, not excepting Charles Durazzo himself, by the malignant Collenuccio. If she was unmindful of her duties as a wife, and of the example she owed her subjects as a queen during her first marriage from sixteen to eighteen, certainly the reformation of her conduct in after life is unparalleled in the annals of history, and we believe we may add in the experience of private life.

The profligacy of Catherine of Russia, drove her on to the destruction of her husband as a measure of self-defence; but though renowned as a queen, did she not continue to be a disgrace to her sex to the last period of her existence?

Muratori, on the contrary, in speaking of Joanna, says,

"Her fame remained tarnished by the death of Andrew, in which she certainly had a share; but Tristan Caraciolo, a writer of great wisdom and authority, clearly showed about a hundred years ago, that in all her other actions she was a sage and just princess and worthy of commendation, although her life terminated in so miserable a manner. *Nel resto delle azioni sue fù principessa giusta, saggia, e degna di lode.*"—*Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, t. xii. 301.

The hypothesis of Voltaire on the change he believed to have taken place in the morals of Joanna, after the period of her first marriage, is an extraordinary instance of how much the judgment may be perverted by a favourite theory. He attributes this supposed change to the effects of literature, his infallible remedy for all vice and cruelty, which, however, he should have perceived had failed in the instance of his patroness, Catherine of Russia, and which, had he reflected for a moment, he must have known, should have kept the accomplished Joanna immaculate as effectually at eighteen as at twenty, educated as she had been in the school of learning.

"Posterity," says he, "always just when enlightened, has pitied this queen because the murder of her first husband was rather the effect of weakness than of wickedness, as she was but eighteen when she consented to this crime, and since that period she was never guilty of any act of incontinence, injustice, or cruelty,"—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, t. iv. 79.

"Entirely devoted to the fine arts, their charms caused the criminal days of her first marriage to be forgotten, *her morals, changed by the cultivation of her mind*, should have defended her from the tragical cruelty which terminated her life."—*Ibid.* 188.

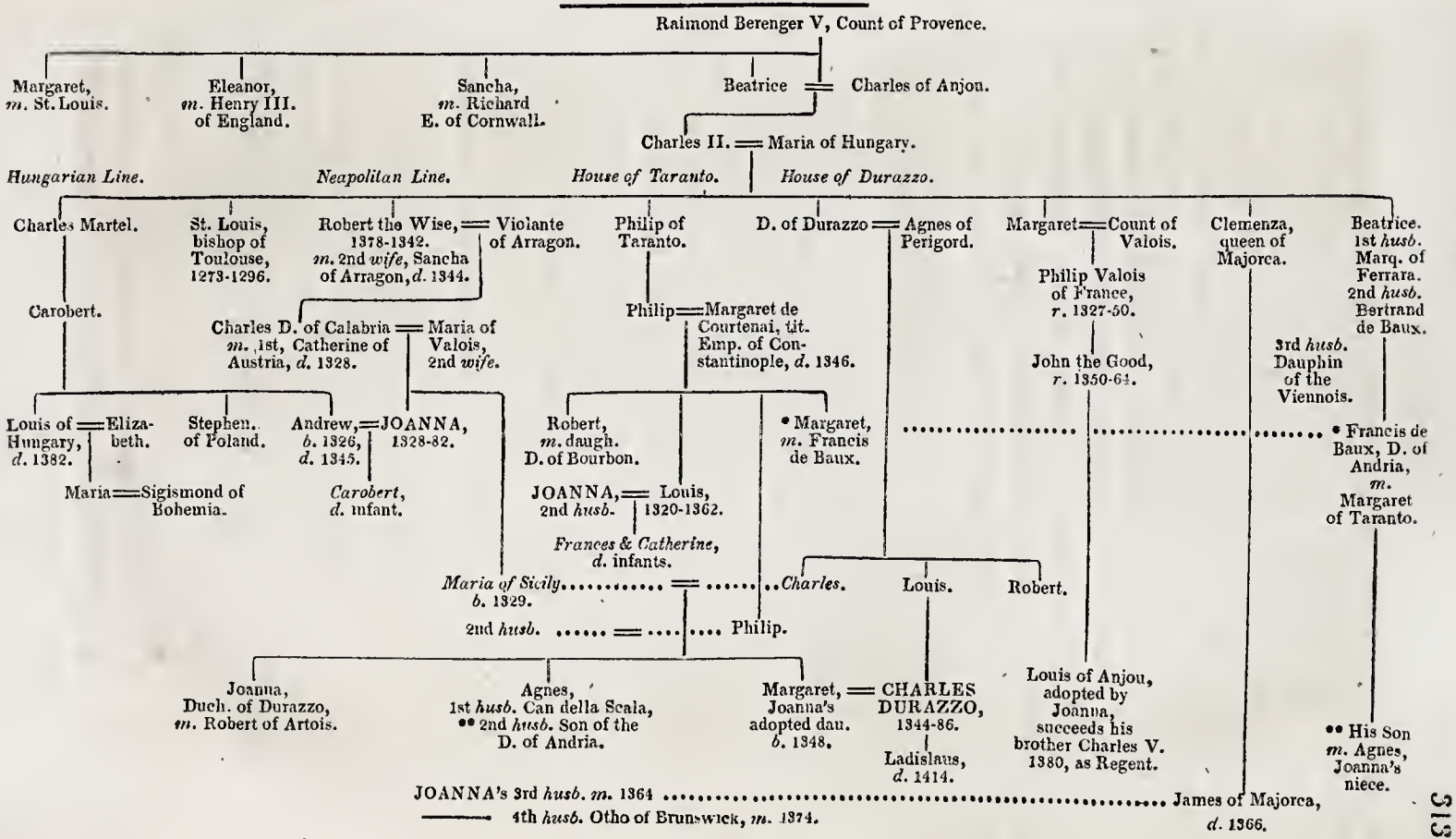
How inadequate such a cause to such an effect! If the empress of Constantinople and the Catanese were such as they

are described, and if they successfully used the influence they must naturally have possessed over the affections of Joanna to lead her from the paths of virtue (for as Muratori observes, she was but sixteen when she ascended the throne, without experience to guide herself) the early precepts of religion and virtue, which she had received from the venerable Robert and his pious consort, produced their proper fruit on the death of these two evil advisers. Left to the meditations of her own heart, and seeing that "the wages of sin were death," the natural excellence of her understanding and disposition, aided by the wholesome lessons of adversity, and the pious precepts left to her as her best inheritance, by her venerable parents, produced that change which Voltaire has ascribed to literature and the fine arts!

GENEALOGICAL

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

Showing the Family of Joanna (as connected with this work) and her Descent from Raimond Berenger.



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THE END.

ERRATA.

VOL. I. p. 34, note 41, 4th line from bottom, *for* " queen Jancha, *read* " queen Sancha."

p. 109, note 17, line 3 from bottom, *for* 1338, *read* 1330.

p. 135, line 15, *for* " his second son Robert," *read* " his third son Robert,"

p. 293, note 15, line 5, " Jupiter was applied to the royal house of France," *after* " applied," *add* " by Villani."

VOL. II. p. 149, last line, *for* " chi Messina vuole guastare," *read* " A chi, &c."

p. 222, line 10, *after* " her universal heir," *add* the figures 13, the reference to the note at the bottom of the page.

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